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USSR Report

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No 18, December 1986

[Translation of KOMMUNIST, the Russian-language theoretical and political journal of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).]

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EDITORIAL--LENINIST LESSONS OF STRUGGLE AGAINST BUREAUCRATISM

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[Text] The essence of the course toward a qualitatively new status in society, formulated by the party and its 27th Congress, is to achieve the full and comprehensive implementation of the principles of developing socialism and, consequently, a dynamic advancement in all areas of our life by maximally accelerating socioeconomic and spiritual progress. The solution of this historical problem is entirely determined by the speed which the required acceleration will gather, and the effective harnessing of social efforts for restructuring and for the practical implementation of the strategy of acceleration. In this case we must bear in mind that restructuring is a comprehensive many-faceted process of surmounting contradictions of different sorts and degrees; constructive work is legitimately and inevitably accompanied by the elimination of various old inertial aspects and vestiges, which hinder our development.

One such obstacles is bureaucratism with its variety of manifestations, most clearly detected on the different levels of organizational and managerial activities, from top to bottom. Its elimination is a mandatory prerequisite for the solution of many problems which face socialist society: organizing management in all areas of society on the level of the requirements of contemporary science and socialist practice, pursuing a strong social policy, further developing and intensifying Soviet democracy, developing socialist self-government and comprehensively enhancing the activities of the human factor. Whichever of these tasks we may consider, its content is clearly entirely alien to bureaucratism and incompatible with its manifestations. Bureaucratism opposes talent, creativity and the individual features of people; it hinders the development of the extent of autonomy and responsibility required by our time and which provide the person not only with scope for initiative and enterprise but also active participation in management and, subsequently, socialist self government.

The Communist Party has always considered the struggle against bureaucratism a task of prime importance. Today this task has become updated and aggravated to the extreme. We must take into consideration the entire available experience in the struggle against manifestations of bureaucratism and mobilize the entire arsenal of Marxist-Leninist thinking. Here we must make efficient use of Lenin's lessons in their theoretical and practical aspects.

The point is that a number of negative phenomena of stagnation noted in the economy and the other areas of social life in the past, were precisely related to increasing manifestations of bureaucratism. The success of the restructuring and its revolutionary nature are based on the extensive development of the struggle against bureaucratism and for the intensification of socialist democracy and the fuller recognition of the creative activeness of the masses.

K. Marx, F. Engels and V.I. Lenin always wrote about bureaucratism as one of the most distorted creation of the world of social inequality, oppression and violence, a system based on the rule of private ownership, with just anger, indignation and mockery. The words "bureaucratism" and "bureaucracy" entered the vocabulary of revolutionary Marxism as indications of a deep-seated social ulcer, a sickness inevitably inherent in the antagonistic system. Naturally, our great teachers did not limit themselves to expressing anger and mockery in their assessment of bureaucratism or the other vices of the capitalist system. We see in their works a profoundly dialectical analysis of the nature of this phenomenon and its socioclass roots. To understand the law of development of a social phenomenon and to determine the reasons for its appearance and its dynamics means to find the way to the practical solution of contradictions and to arm the progressive social forces with a knowledge of the objectives and means of struggle for progress. To know the features of bureaucratism, which richly blossoms under the conditions of a capitalist system is important not only from the viewpoint of the ideological struggle. We must learn to recognize its vestiges in our life as well.

Marx's work "On the Critique of Hegelian Philosophy of Law," which discusses bureaucracy as a separate stratum expressing egotistical corporate interests of the minority and presenting these interests as being universal and itself as the impartial representative of the entire society divided into opposing classes, is a brilliant essay on the basic features of bureaucracy and bureaucratism.

Marx's description of the claims of bureaucratism concerning the universal significance of its own distortions is essentially important in understanding not only the essence of this phenomenon, caused by the private ownership system, but also of its vestiges fought by socialism. These claims reveal with particular clarity the twisted logic of relations within the capitalist system, within which the narrow selfish interests of a private-ownership minority are presented as a guarantee of the common good; illusions are placed above the truth and distortion is presented as the standard. "The bureaucracy," Marx writes, "considers itself the end objective of the state. Since bureaucracy presents its 'official' objectives as its content, everywhere it is forced to clash against 'real' objectives. Therefore, it is forced to present what is official as the content and the content as something official. State tasks turn into office tasks or office tasks become the tasks of the state" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 1, p 271). "As to the individual bureaucrat, the objective of the state becomes his personal objective in the pursuit of rank and career" (Ibid, p 272).

However, conflicting the manifestations of bureaucratism may be with the profound trends in the development of socialist society and its ideals and

standards, we must agree that in daily life we frequently come across the universal features of bureaucratism as a phenomenon and personification of the features of the bureaucrat--the man of red tape, the smart operator, the careerist--brilliantly described by Marx.

It is at this point that the difficulty experienced by many propagandists and social scientists appears, when they try to explain negative phenomena. On the one hand, the phenomenon is essentially alien to the nature of socialism; on the other, however, it exists, it is hardy. Most frequently, in popular pamphlets and in lectures and verbal propaganda the solution of this difficulty is sought with the use of a variety of descriptive adjectives, such as "isolated," "some," "part," (or "insignificant part"), etc. We hardly need in such cases such "easy" answers to a situation, which precisely meet the need of some old-style propagandists (who are unable to acknowledge reality and tell the truth) to embellish socialist reality and idealize the current situation or, in simpler terms, to present a kind of "accountability report" approach to assessing reality and "make-believe," as though ideological "make-believe," if it assumes a general historical scale, becomes, by this token, justified. No! The problem of the hardness of the vestiges of the old under the conditions of victorious socialism, including manifestations of bureaucratism and, therefore, their steady elimination and uprooting (eliminating the traces of capitalism, V.I. Lenin wrote, see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Completed Collected Works], vol 41, p 425) is much more serious and profound. It requires a dialectical approach to the fundamental laws of socialist restructuring.

The theory of Marx-Engels-Lenin on the state and its development after the victory of the proletarian revolution provides a reliable scientific foundation for understanding the reasons for the existence of bureaucratism after the overthrow of the capitalist system which created it, and in explaining the ways leading to the total elimination of bureaucratic vestiges. The fact that on the eve of the October Revolution V.I. Lenin considered the need to sum up all essential Marxist conclusions on this matter in his book "The State and Revolution," is by no means accidental.

The founders of Marxism-Leninism held an extremely clear view: the breakdown of the old state machinery and the elimination of its support--bureaucracy--are a prerequisite for a successful proletarian revolution. Strengthening the state apparatus and its militaristic, repressive and bureaucratic links remains one of the main means for survival of the capitalist society. This is a historical trend indicating a pattern. "Throughout all bourgeois revolutions made in Europe in such large numbers after the fall of feudalism," V.I. Lenin wrote, "we see the development, advancement and strengthening of this official and military apparatus. In particular, it is precisely the petite bourgeoisie that is drawn on the side of the big bourgeoisie and is made obedient largely through this apparatus, which provides the upper strata of the peasantry, the petty craftsmen, the merchants and others, relatively comfortable, tranquil and honorable little positions, which set them above the people" (op cit., vol 33, p 30). The elimination of the old, the bourgeois state machinery, is inconceivable without the elimination of the special stratum which serves it--the bureaucracy. Furthermore, the possibility of the total elimination of bureaucracy will be "ensured by the fact that socialism

will shorten the working day, lead the masses to a new life and provide the majority of the population with conditions which will allow everyone without exception to perform 'state functions.' This will bring about the total withering away of the state in general" (Ibid., pp 117).

On this level, the tasks of the revolution are no less difficult than in building a new economy, particularly if we consider that economic changes themselves can be accomplished only with the help of the new, the socialist state. In analyzing the first historical efforts to destroy the bourgeois governmental machinery--the experience of the Paris Commune--and explaining the future of the state after the victory of the socialist revolution, Lenin defined the final fate and sociohistorical prospects of the state as follows: "...Here the majority of the population will be the overwhelming authority and not a minority, as has always been the case under the systems of slavery, serfdom or bondage. Since the majority of the people themselves will oppress their oppressors, this will require no 'particular force.' In this sense the state will begin to wither away" (Ibid., p 42). This historical trend should not be imagined simplistically as a symbol or brief process.

The expression "withering away of the state," as applied to the initial period of the building and functioning of developed socialism, means nothing other than the description of a statehood of an essentially new nature in terms of its social content, which is capable of "withering away." The dialectics of history is such that such a state should, precisely for the sake of hastening the period of the practical "withering away," be, we repeat, steadily strengthened, developed and perfected. Naturally, in the course of this process certain superficial similarities with a "state in general" appear, i.e., with the old-type state, the state in the classical meaning of the term. One of its specific features is bureaucratism, which comes with the administration of the state. However, it would not only be erroneous but also harmful and even criminal to refer, as various anti-Soviets of different hues do, to "degeneracy," "totalitarianism," "statism," etc. "...We do not conceal this evil (bureaucratism--editor)," V.I. Lenin wrote. "We expose and fight it. Those who, because of their struggle against the distortions in the new system, forget its nature, also forget that the working class created and is managing a Soviet-type state. They are simply unable to think and are wasting words" (op cit., vol 44, p 106).

The way to the withering away of the state and, with it, the total and definitive elimination of bureaucratism, was seen in its general features through the experience of the Paris Commune. "...The commune replaced the destroyed state machinery with "simply" full democracy: abolition of the standing army and total electivity and replaceability of all officials. Actually, this is word 'simply' indicates a huge replacement of some institutions with others of an essentially different nature. It is here that we see precisely one of the cases of the 'conversion of quantity into quality:' democracy, carried out so completely and consistently as conceivable, is converted from bourgeois into proletarian democracy and from a state (a special force for the suppression of a certain class) into something which is no longer strictly a state" (V.I. Lenin, op cit., vol 33, p 42). No one should misinterpret the statements of Engels and V.I. Lenin on the future type of power and the system of administration by the victorious proletariat

("nonstate," "semi-state," "not quite a state"). These expressions emphasize the essential, the basic distinction between the new type of state and all other states previously known to history, a state which can wither away and which even organizes this complex and lengthy process and prepares the conditions for its successful course. The state of a new type with its essentially new content remains historically necessary, first in order to suppress the opposition of the overthrown exploiters and then to defend the gains of the socialist revolution in its essential and main aspects: the organization of a socialist economy on the basis of the steadily developing foundations for which change takes place and constructive labor is done in all other areas of social life. Or, as Lenin said, "The need remains for a state which, while protecting the common ownership of means of production, protects the equality of labor and the equal distribution of goods" (Ibid., p 95).

The existence of a state inevitably presumes the existence of its specific apparatus and various specialized state units. It is precisely this that V.I. Lenin had in mind in formulating the paradoxical conclusion of the existence of a bourgeois (on the basis of a "superficial similarity") state under the conditions of a socialist phase in the communist system (see Ibid., p 99). It was precisely this paradox that was anticipated by Engels to a certain extent when, on the basis of his study of the experience of the Paris Commune, he wrote that "...in order not to lose once again its recently acquired domination, on the one hand, the working class must remove the entire old machinery of oppression, which had been used until then against it and, on the other, protect itself against its own representatives and officials, proclaiming that all of them without exception are replaceable at all times" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op cit., vol 22, p 199).

Such is the theoretical interpretation for and the existence of "officialdom" as a separate stratum after the victory of the socialist revolution and the principal means of struggle against the bureaucratization of this stratum, the explanation for the hitherto inevitable manifestations of bureaucratism on various levels of administrative activities and the need for a steady and consistent struggle against. It is clear that our social scientists--philosophers, historians, lawyers specializing in government affairs and sociologists--must greatly increase their work in this area. The tasks formulated in the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the party program of broadening and intensifying Soviet democracy, perfecting management in all areas of life of our society and developing the system of socialist self-government are so extensive and radical as to give grounds for correlating the study of specific facts of daily practice with the universal historical forecasts of the Marxist-Leninist classics.

As we add to the agenda of theoretical studies work on precisely total and definitive uprooting of bureaucratism (and not only the struggle against it, not only the "treating" of its most harmful manifestations), it is obviously necessary to caution, again and again, that these processes are quite complex and that not all problems in this area can be solved with a surprise attack and that we should learn to avoid anticipation. In addressing the second all-Russian congress of mining workers, V.I. Lenin pointed out that "if people come to you and tell you, 'let us end with bureaucratism,' this is demagogy. It is nonsense. It will take long years of struggle against bureaucracy and

anyone who thinks otherwise is a charlatan and a demagogue for in order to defeat bureaucratism hundreds of different steps must be taken. Total literacy, total culture, and total participation in the Worker-Peasant Inspectorate are necessary" (op cit., vol 42, p 260).

Has this instruction become obsolete in 66 years, and if it has, to what extent? Total literacy was achieved in our country long ago. However, can we say that we have achieved equally "total" high political and legal standards among the citizens and "total" social activeness and participation in the administration of the state, production and public affairs? Has the nationwide nature of the Soviet state been brought to light to its fullest extent today and has a system of socialist self-government been developed adequately? No, not yet. Therefore, since these problems remain unsolved, the struggle against bureaucratism remains on the agenda in the work of party and soviet authorities, public organizations and all active and progressive citizens. Bureaucratism will be eliminated totally and once and for all as these problems are solved and as we eliminate the objective reasons for the survival of its vestiges.

Such is the long-term historical future, defined theoretically in its general features and organically related to the solution of the broad problems substantiated in the documents of the 27th Party Congress. How can we reach this future faster and accelerate its implementation? How practically to organize the work to surmount the vestiges of bureaucratism? Here as well V.I. Lenin's lessons will be of invaluable assistance to us. He not only provided the basic theoretical instructions on this matter but also headed the decisive struggle against bureaucratism in state and economic building and earmarked efficient ways of uprooting this evil. The main tasks were:

- "1. Simplifying the apparatus;
- "2. Improving it;
- "3. Worker-peasant control to this effect. Involving the masses.
- "4. Transferring some officials to productive work;
- "5. taking steps leading to the total elimination of bureaucratism: total participation by the working people themselves in management" ("Leninskiy Sbornik XXXVII" [Leninist Collection No 38], p 338).

Items 1, 2 and 4 may be considered as pertaining essentially to the "technology" of administrative activities. Item 5 is essentially sociopolitical if not sociohistorical, although it too has its technical side, for it is also a question of involving the working people in administration, and teaching everyone how to administer. Item 3 is the essential "middle link" between them: here political and technical problems of perfecting management and the work of its apparatus are most closely interrelated.

To what extent could the program drawn up by V.I. Lenin for the struggle against bureaucratism serve as our guideline today, under substantially different social conditions, when socialism has already been built and,

furthermore, is developing on its own base? Obviously, the main feature of this program--distinguishing between problems which are primarily political and primarily technical--could help us in more clearly defining the set, the system of practical actions in the struggle against bureaucratism and singling out the specific assignments which require particular attention at a given time or in one or another unit of organizational-administrative work. As a whole, this set of measures should be varied and efficient, ranging from "therapy" aimed at improving administrative procedures, educating and training management cadres, and applying "prophylactic" measures to prevent the bureaucratic "disease," to "surgical" steps for the elimination of unnecessary units, rejection of obsolete ways and means of work and eliminating unsuitable personnel from the administrative system, from the state apparatus above all, if they are unsuitable and unable to learn and reorganize their work.

For today we have administrators who like to command and who, as V.I. Lenin said, use "the methods used by Tit Titych ('I may approve, I may disapprove')," who ignore facts, who issue orders without full knowledge of the matter, only on the basis of their own "bureaucratic self-opinion," and "communist boastfulness," (these too are Lenin's expressions), forgetting that the main elements in administrative activities are science and experience and constant study. The viewpoint of the bureaucrat, who clings to the customary, the sluggish, which does not require any thoughts or creativity, always conforming, always expressing stagnation, although such a person claims to represent the interest and wisdom of the state. He does not try to be in step with life; he demands that life be in step with him, presenting his frozen and ossified viewpoint as the only true one. It is precisely against such complacency and narcissism that Sophocles cautioned us 2,500 years ago:

"Looking at someone who thinks that only his judgment is correct; inside, he is empty. Even the wise man must learn, for what is shameful about learning?"

The science, technique and knowledge of administration must be mastered steadily and persistently. This particularly applies to young people, whose growing involvement in the affairs of the country and the people is a major prerequisite in the successful struggle against bureaucratism and, in general, for the entire restructuring.

The problems which we conventionally described as "technical" are of major political significance. It is not a matter merely of the fact that administrative activities deal with people and that administrative workers display responsiveness and attention to the person and his requests and interests, and take into consideration the opinion of the people. Naturally, this aspect is important in conducting educational work in the administrative bodies. No less important, however, is the task of instilling strict order in the activities of administrative units, upgrading the standards of such activities and the professional level of those engaged in them, and finding ways of improving their efficiency.

We cannot be satisfied with general condemnations of paper shuffling, for the turnover of documents is a necessary link in the work of all economic sectors on different administrative levels--in economics, sociocultural life and governmental institutions themselves. The tasks of the personnel in the

organizational-administrative area and of the scientists who study it are to define which "papers" are necessary or unnecessary. Scarcity of information affects the substantiation of decision-making. However, unnecessary information could block decision-making, not to mention the fact that instead of doing their work, the "lower" units must invest excessive efforts in providing innumerable references and reports. The procurement, transmission and processing of unnecessary information is what paper shuffling means; we need clear and efficient criteria in separating the necessary from the unnecessary, blocking useless paper shuffling and organizing the most efficient document turnover in the various management areas. In precisely the same way, an overall accurate and necessary negative assessment of unnecessary meetings does not in itself streamline the frequency, size and structure of meetings which, for the time being, are inevitable.

The condemnation of types of collective leadership which lead to collective irresponsibility is entirely justified. However, a one-sided war against this extreme and against slackness could turn (and frequently does) into lack of collective leadership. Ignoring collective opinion and the habit developed by some to administer and by others to await instructions, dampen and suppress the overall activeness of a given management unit or worker collective, and develop a type of inertness which could be equally described as a formal-bureaucratic attitude toward the work and discipline, whereas what we need today is something entirely different--a conscious attitude. This does not occur within the state machinery only. Let us look around us: How many party committees are there in which buro members and secretaries take part in the collective discussion and solution of problems, and the personnel of the apparatus in their implementation? The names of many other members of the elective party body--precisely in its quality as such--may be heard only during accountability and election campaigns. One could probably also find committees in which collective leadership is purely formal. The practical implementation of the principle of collective management in the assignment of responsibilities in all areas of organizational and administrative activities equally requires the formulation of efficient and scientific criteria for streamlining and upgrading its efficiency.

Facts proving the disparate worth of papers, meetings and collective leadership also prove that organizational-managerial activities are a separate area of social labor with its own specifics and a relatively autonomous nature. This is a prerequisite for its development on a scientific basis and reliable grounds for the formulation of contemporary criteria of professionalism and standards. However, this also entails a possible unnecessary exclusivity and, to a certain extent, alienation from the social problems to be solved. As in any other realm of activities, here the departmental approach may become inflated, in the course of which existing specific ways and means of work begin to be accepted as self-seeking (let us recall Marx' jibe on replacing form with content and content with form); the results of the activities of such a system of management and its units and individual officials are assessed on the basis of "internal," so to say, indicators--the number of papers, meetings and steps and the "successful" solution of totally useless problems. It is precisely here that the danger of the blossoming of formalism and bureaucratism arises. It is precisely here that we vitally need the ability to link, as V.I. Lenin taught, administration

with politics, the ability to assess decisions, actions and work methods from the positions of the interests of the nation, the state. It is only this, the scientific and efficient organization of administrative work, that can prevent the apparatus from idling, working "for its own sake," and ensure true standards, efficiency and practicality instead of ostentation which merely simulates real work.

The enhancement of the professional and cultural standard of organizational-managerial activities, including the elimination of formalism and bureaucratism, is not a self-seeking objective. V.I. Lenin asked something which must be recalled more frequently today "that the people's courts pay greater attention to the legal prosecution of bureaucratism, red tape and economic inefficiency. The prosecution of such cases is necessary also in order to increase liability for an evil which is so difficult to fight under our circumstances and in order to draw the attention of the worker and peasant masses to this most important problem and attaining its practical objective: greater economic successes" (op cit., vol 44, p 337).

We would be justified to recall yet another variety of bureaucratism, or "communist bureaucratism," as described by V.I. Lenin in condemning the impractical, sickening fair-sounding approach to serious problems requiring a profound study and persistent practical efforts ("generalities, phrases, wishes with which everyone is fed up," see op cit., vol 45, p 45). A great deal of thunderous words and sharp condemnations of bureaucracy were heard during the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s, when many of the most vital problems were being solved without the necessary energy or else were postponed "for later," while they accumulated and increased. It is precisely because of such a bureaucratic-ideological approach that the struggle against bureaucratism became much more difficult and urgent. It was precisely for that reason that in formulating the strategy of acceleration, the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress noted that this strategy "calls for perfecting social relations, renovating the ways and means of work of political and ideological institutions, intensifying socialist democracy and decisively eliminating inertia, stagnation and conservatism which hinder social progress."

Lack of efficiency and of a truly socialist standard of management, inevitably accompanied by formalism and bureaucratism, are harmful precisely for obstructing practical successes in our building. That is also why the struggle against bureaucratic distortions, formalism, red tape, paper shuffling and phrase-mongering, inertness and sluggishness is more relevant today than ever. Let us compare the urgent need for comprehensive acceleration against hindrances and obstacles; the vital need for restructuring against routine and stiffness of methods and ways of work, in which even the term work becomes arbitrary; the task of achieving substantial end results against orientation toward "indicators," which can only please the superior bureaucrat; replacing live action with a formal, meaningless and "ostentatious" report; the urgent need to energize the human factor and enhance the activity and initiative of the masses against bureaucratic spiritual stagnation which blocks ability, initiative and creativity and prevents truly efficient work. Such comparisons unwittingly lead to the conclusion that clearly insufficient attention is being paid so far to the

struggle against bureaucratism in fact and not only in words! Can we say that the local authorities everywhere (unfortunately, including party ones) and central departments are implementing with the necessary energy the stipulations of party and state documents directly aimed at the struggle against bureaucratism? An affirmative answer would be hasty in this case, to say the least. A clearly insignificant role is being assigned to such problems in the propaganda and agitation system and in the studies made by social scientists.

Let us take as an example the question of cadres, which is essentially important in defeating bureaucratism. V.I. Lenin taught us "to study the people, to look for able workers. It is this," he emphasized, "that is the essence now; without it all orders and decrees are dirty little pieces of paper" (op. cit., vol 44, p 367). However, it turns out that even in solving this problem there is more than enough bureaucratism: people are rated on the basis of surveys and features such as acquaintanceship, family relations, place of birth, personal loyalty, etc. It also happens that "it is still accepted in our country, and even somewhat fashionable," as writer Liliya Belyayeva noted in her article "Defeat the Bureaucrat," published in PRAVDA, "to praise those who disturb the peace, i.e., the open and socially active people; for some reason, however, no particular haste is shown in assigning them social duties. There frequently is a strong reliance on those who can be 'managed,' who are diligent performers without initiative." The peak of bureaucratism in the assessment of cadres is a case described in the article "Certification in the Soviets," published in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. "Scientific" recommendations regarding the comprehensive assessment of the personnel of the apparatus of the executive committee, requiring that more than 120 items be taken into consideration and a heap of documents be issued for every employee, were drafted and issued by the Rostov TsENII Laboratory of the RSFSR Gosplan. Furthermore, the "recommendations" include the assertion that "the meetings of the certification commissions may take place without summoning those to be certified," demonstrating the great faith of bureaucratized "scientific workers" in the power of paper data they obtain on the basis of their cumbersome and unnecessary stereotypes.

Meanwhile, the reliable means of the struggle against bureaucratism in solving cadre problems and in ensuring progress in other aspects of social life are known, and have been pointed out by the party and tried through practical experience. They include the thorough study of facts, great openness, informing the working people and the population (including information on cadre changes and reasons for them), mandatory consideration of public opinion, broadening the rights and influence of labor collectives (including the election of managers on different levels), steady development of criticism and self-criticism, strengthening its effectiveness, supporting all substantiated remarks and useful suggestions and energizing and increasing the role of the press. The upsurge of the activeness of the masses and their initiative and, consequently, responsibility, is the most important guarantee for the successful implementation of the strategy of acceleration and the best cure for all inertia, sluggishness and bureaucratism.

The most important task is to improve the style of all organizational and managerial activities. We must display greater efficiency and aim more at

practical results and mandatorily wage a decisive struggle against slackness, lack of performance, red tape and "overorganization," for both these extremes are nutritive grounds for bureaucratic distortions. As a rule, an excessively rigid "overorganization" directly turns into scandalous violations of the standards of democracy, in which scope for expressing an opinion, not to mention a critical one is, frankly stated, minimal.

Attention should be paid to yet another inevitable manifestation of bureaucratism. The formal, the bureaucratic attitude toward labor. As a rule, this coincides with indifference toward people. The official-bureaucratic attitude toward a person is inherent in the type of officials who consider important not the work but time-serving, giving the appearance of work or simply working at leisure, at half strength. Yet the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum justifiably emphasized that "a relatively fast return can be obtained if we put to work organizational-economic and social reserves and, above all, enhance the human factor, seeing to it that everyone work conscientiously and with total dedication."

Bureaucratism has many faces. It is flexible but always tries to adapt--sometimes quite successfully--to the new circumstances. That is why there are no ready-made prescriptions against it, prescriptions which would be universal and cover all cases in life. The elimination, the uprooting of bureaucratism demands a steady critical analysis and improvement in the work style and the persistent party-political upbringing of cadres and of anyone engaged in organizational-administrative activities; it demands the decisive elimination of any bureaucratic distortions, formalism and red tape; it calls for the further democratization and strengthening of the legal foundations of our governmental and social life. Above all, it demands control over the implementation of decisions.

The struggle against formalism and bureaucratism, indifference toward people and toward our common cause are an inseparable part of the restructuring of our social life, headed by the party. The party organizations and, under their guidance, the mass associations of working people and all active and conscientious citizens, are joining ever more energetically in this struggle. It is precisely this that promises the final success of this struggle: the total elimination of manifestations of bureaucratism from our life and work, providing infinite scope for the application and further development of the inexhaustible constructive strength existing within socialist society.

Lenin's theoretical and practical lessons from the struggle against bureaucratism are, today as well, our replaceable weapon.

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SOCIAL VECTOR OF ACCELERATION; KOMMUNIST ROUNDTABLE MEETING AT THE IZHORSKIY ZAVOD PRODUCTION ASSOCIATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 86 (signed to press 9 Dec 86) pp 13-23

[Text] The first year of the 12th 5-Year Plan--the year of the 27th CPSU Congress, a year of tense searching and thoughts, and efforts to implement decisions aimed at the qualitative renovation of all aspects of life in our society--is coming to an end. We began our ascent toward the lofty and noble objectives formulated by the party during the post-April period; we initiated a movement which demands of every party member and Soviet person maximal contribution to the common cause, creative efforts and uncompromising rejection of the stereotypes of the past in our thoughts and actions. A special role is being assigned to the 12th 5-Year Plan. The pace of socioeconomic development and the level of well-being of the people directly depend on the foundations which will be laid during this period in the implementation of the radical changes in the national economy and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. What has already been accomplished in these most important areas? What problems are triggered by the restructuring of the economy and the enhancement of the human factor in areas which determine the success of our progress? Today these problems excite everyone whose heart has responded to the party's call for renovation and for perfecting socialism in our country.

As the journal reported in its last issue, on 31 October 1986 the KOMMUNIST editors held jointly with the Leningrad CPSU Obkom a roundtable meeting at the Izhorskiy Zavod imeni A.A. Zhdanov Production Association. In addition to production workers and party officials, participating in the discussion were social scientists from Moscow and Leningrad and representatives of ministries and central economic departments. As agreed upon with Central Television, the meeting was videotaped.

The main guideline which determined the topics discussed at the roundtable meeting were the materials of the 27th CPSU Congress and the subsequent party documents which include the demand for a profound restructuring in the thinking and mentality of cadres, a clear social orientation of their entire work and the maximal utilization of the reserves of creative autonomy by labor collectives. The sponsors of the meeting proceeded from the fact that the experience acquired at enterprises in Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast and the implementation here of the "Intensification-90" program, offer a good

opportunity for the study of a set of topical problems of interaction between the human factor and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

The Izhorskiy Zavod imeni A.A. Zhdanov Production Association is one of the Leningrad enterprises in which the achievements of contemporary science and technology are having a daily energetic influence on production, developing in the thousands-strong collective the qualities needed today to solve the tasks of our industry. The association has a uniquely comprehensive metallurgical and machine-building base and efficient scientific research and design subunits. It essentially fulfilled its 11th 5-Year Plan, many of its most important targets were overfulfilled, and its work in 1986 remains consistent.

In opening the meeting, I.T. Frolov, KOMMUNIST editor in chief, emphasized that the experience of the enterprise and its orientation toward the cutting edge of mastering new items and the presence of scientists and practical workers at the roundtable meeting make it possible organically to combine in the discussion practical with theoretical problems and comprehensively to consider the relevance to the Izhorskiy people of the problems of acceleration of scientific and technical progress in the broad context of current party activities, which are changing our societal life.

The report on the meeting, the first part of which follows, was drafted by journal special correspondents V. Kadulin and N. Tyurin.

Course of Intensification

Y.F. Solovyev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom:

At various stages in our country's development and in most difficult and important times in its history, the party has always relied on the constructive energy of the people and their extensive support. The higher and the more important become the levels we must reach, the more effectively we must involve people in the creative work which is changing all aspects of life.

Characteristic of the present and truly crucial period in which our homeland finds itself are a qualitatively new level of tasks and an innovative approach. The 27th CPSU Congress, which approved the strategic course of accelerated socioeconomic development, emphasized the need for a radical renovation of the material and technical base of Soviet society on the basis of the achievements of contemporary science and scientific and technical progress. Therefore the latter becomes the most important lever in upgrading production efficiency. The skillful use of this lever depends, in the final account, on the people, on their knowledge and skills, persistence and purposefulness, creative approach and organizational capabilities. Enhancing the influence of the human factor on the intensification process means drastically accelerating the pace of our progress.

Today the forces of the Leningrad party organization are concentrated on this essential area of the work. Let us point out that for many years some work aimed at perfecting comprehensive economic planning and the concentration and

specialization of our industry had been done in the city and the oblast. Today such work is based on more than 170 scientific-production and production associations which account for about 70 percent of the entire output. Their collectives are oriented toward the creation of essentially new equipment and the systematic updating of equipment and technology.

The formulation of a comprehensive program, which we named "Intensification-90," became a very important project for the Leningrad party members. What is the nature of its comprehensiveness? At the beginning of the 1980s we sharply felt the need to consider the activities of the region's economy not only as one of the enterprises themselves. Problems of social development, closely related as a whole to the solution of production problems, became substantially more relevant. I shall not discuss in detail the formulation of the Intensification-90 program. Let me merely emphasize that it was initiated by the Leningrad party organization. The Leningrad Party Obkom set up a council for economic and social development and acceleration of scientific and technical progress to coordinate this entire project. The council has a number of concerns. Suffice it to mention that during the first stage in the development of the program the collectives of more than 330 enterprises and organizations of 99 ministries and departments and hundreds of scientific workers from sectorial and academic institutes became involved in the development of its first stage.

After the completion of this project which, as one can easily guess, was no simple matter, it became clear that we could not do without comprehensive development, without labor collectives and party organizations solving not isolated problems "of their own." We had to follow a line shared by the entire area and the country. On the basis of the conclusions of the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th Party Congress, we reviewed the pace of development of the city and oblast, assessed the activities of all of our collectives from the viewpoint of the growth of labor productivity and considered the solution of social and daily-life problems. In particular, we noted a lag in the development of health care and the building of stores, public laundries and other social-consumer projects in the new districts. Using our universal tool--the Intensification-90 program--we were able to anticipate efficient steps to correct such shortcomings. Intensification-90 became not only an efficient means of accelerating scientific and technical progress but also an objective criterion in evaluating the extent of reorientation of cadres in the spirit of the time. In participating in its implementation, on all levels are mastering practical experience of working under new economic management conditions and are radically reorganizing their mentality and way of thinking. What makes this even more important is that in the application of essentially new generations of equipment and promising technological processes, the cost of administrative decisions increases substantially; stricter requirements face the competence of the people, and the level of their responsibility for assignments increases. The territorial-sectorial and comprehensive method for solving the problems of the 5-year plan called for a great deal of restructuring of party work. It is precisely our program that dictates today the priorities of individual party organizations.

With a document such as Intensification-90, in formulating the 12th 5-Year Plan we noted that we were not entirely satisfied with the investment policy

on which the plan was based. We were formulating the 12th 5-Year Plan in the same way as the 11th and the 10th. In other words, we were emphasizing the opening of new capacities and jobs while showing quite insignificant, to say the least, concern for what was occurring with the old enterprises, already existing capacities and collectives which had acquired good traditions and reached a sufficiently high level of output. This could not fail to concern the party obkom, the more so since a study indicated that the new facilities created on the eve of the 12th 5-year period were by no means operating at full capacity. This was essentially due to the fact that social problems had remained unsolved. We had to review the investment policy for the 12th 5-year period. Before that, however, we turned to the collectives of industrial enterprises for advice on how to solve the existing problem, for it had become necessary to reduce the number of jobs and increase job intensiveness. We also made a special study which indicated that in Leningrad, in addition to the latest equipment, there existed a large number of machine tools installed 15, 20 and even 30 years ago.

You may recall that until quite recently we used to say: "Here is our famous turner. He works well, he takes care of his machine tool with which he has been working for 25 years, and here is the young fellow-worker to whom he will pass the tool on." This situation was given as an example. Yet, had such a master of his work been given highly productive equipment, his knowledge plus the new equipment would have enabled him to increase labor productivity several hundred percent. We began to estimate what would happen if we convert to a two- or three-shift work with equipment classified as highly effective and remove the old machine tools from the enterprise? It turned out that in such a case we would be able to solve the problems of the 12th 5-Year Plan virtually without capital investments in developing new industrial areas. Furthermore, it would become possible to release some funds and reduce the number of jobs and, therefore, eliminate the scarcity of manpower. This would void the concept which we always used as a screen in saying that we are doing poor work for lack of workers. Actually, we have no problems such as lack of workers. We are simply not working correctly. The expected ratios of removing and updating equipment enable us, with the existing number of workers, not only to ensure the full filling of jobs but also to raise the equipment shift coefficient to the 1.7-2 level.

As instructed by the oblast party committee buro, we addressed this question to the labor collectives. We visited a number of plants, including Izhorskiy. I cannot say that everyone was delighted to take the second or third shift. But let me emphasize that the Leningrad working class adopted a very responsible attitude to the task raised by reality itself and the present stage in economic restructuring. In no enterprise did we meet with objections. The only thing the people said was that "we probably should organize a second and third shift. However, there should be corresponding conditions for the work of the transport system, schools, stores, consumer services, theaters and higher educational institutions." The party obkom considered all of these entirely reasonable and fair problems. We then submitted suggestions to the CPSU Central Committee. They were approved by its Politburo and given a high rating at the June 1985 Central Committee Plenum, which assigned great responsibility to the people of Leningrad.

Of late a number of organizational, economic and technical steps have been taken in the city and the oblast in converting to the new economic management conditions. The pivot of their implementation is the resolutions which were adopted at the July and October oblast party committee plenums, which earmarked specific ways of boosting the process of production intensification on the basis of reconstruction and technical retooling. We cannot say that this work is being done easily always and everywhere. Some enterprises are organizing work in two shifts by issuing orders without making the necessary preparations for this important step. In resorting to the simplest method of dividing the number of people into a first- and second-shift, using virtually the same machine tools, it is difficult to prevent breakdowns or dissatisfaction.

A great deal of work lies ahead. It is important, above all, to carry out not a "paper" reorganization of the production process or mechanically to assign people to different shifts but to undertake a thoroughly weighed and planned removal of obsolete equipment from the enterprises and the optimal utilization of the active share of assets. The solution of this problem greatly depends on the firm and systematic view held by the party committees interested in taking a proper approach to the production reorganization of party and economic managements. A study has indicated that some managers have still not abandoned their habitual stereotypes. They have been unable to leave the deep ruts and take a new and unquestionably promising path. The elimination of obsolete concepts and of organizational and psychological barriers is one of the primary tasks of the CPSU Obkom apparatus and the city and rayon party committees. Finally, it is a flexible and purposeful social policy, in the interests of every working person, that can lead to a substantial enhancement of the human factor under the conditions of accelerated scientific and technical progress. Taking this into consideration, the oblast party committee and soviet authorities, along with converting the enterprises to multiple-shift work, took a large number of steps aimed at reorganizing the work in the social area--in trade, health care and public education and transportation enterprises. Steps were also taken to provide additional material and moral incentives to workers working evening and night shifts.

What conclusion could be drawn from the experience acquired this year? We have undertaken a major and complex project. This year we intend to discard nearly 15,000 machine tools and free a substantial work area. Today Leningrad's industry has high-efficiency equipment and machines working in two or three shifts. In the areas which become available as we remove obsolete and unproductive machine tools, modern production facilities will be installed, flexible automated systems and rotary lines above all. Next year, according to the plan--for this will be a planned process--we intend to write off 30,000 machine tools in the city and oblast and thus release more than 200,000 square meters of area which can be used to meet social needs, such as cafeterias.

Some difficulties in production management have appeared: the second and third shifts require more efficient and faster access to all that is necessary doing their jobs. In this area the plant management services will inevitably have to work more and better. However, it is only thus that we shall be able to increase labor productivity and drastically to enhance the quality and

competitiveness of the goods produced in the area and, therefore, successfully to implement the tasks set to us by the 27th CPSU Congress.

Another important conclusion is that production intensification helps us to save on capital investments. We realized in formulating the 12th 5-Year Plan that in order to increase the construction of housing, children's preschool establishments and hospitals, we needed a great deal more funds than the initial draft of the plan stipulated. The present stage in the implementation of the Intensification-90 program predetermines the release of funds needed for solving social development problems. We can therefore say that by the year 2000 every family in Leningrad will have its own apartment. In order to solve this most important problem we are involving not only the forces of the main construction organizations in the city but also those of enterprises doing construction work on their own.

This is only one example of the comprehensive and interrelated solution of economic and social problems. Today such practices are being comprehensively instilled in the life of Leningrad's labor collective. Experience has been acquired in this respect also by the Izhorskiy Zavod Association, which is producing more than 60 percent of the equipment for the country's nuclear power industry.

For a number of years a reconstruction has been under way at this enterprise, in which we are holding our roundtable meeting. We can clearly see the outlines of new developments in the economic and social areas. One-of-a-kind power machine building facilities, an automated forging complex and the powerful "5000" sheet rolling mill were created here. The basic PTU-6 was expanded; departments of Leningrad VUZs, set up at the association, are oriented toward the requirements of scientific and technical progress.

Social problems are also being solved here energetically. In the 11th 5-year period alone 3,200 families of enterprise workers improved their housing conditions. A swimming pool was built and the building of a sanatorium-prophylactic establishment and a palace of culture and technology is nearing completion. The radical reorganization of the production process and the efforts of the party organization and the administration, aimed at upgrading the activeness and initiative of the people and the satisfaction of their vital needs and requirements, are yielding positive results.

Naturally, the collective also has difficulties and problems related to the restructuring. They are a separate topic of discussion. I am confident that the Izhorskiy people will openly describe their actions and concerns and share their thoughts and difficulties. I merely wish to emphasize that the elimination of some negative phenomena which are encountered by the new developments which were introduced in our lives by the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th Party Congress, are related, in our view, to the increased combativeness of the party organizations and their intensified influence on renovating all aspects of social life.

During the first and most difficult and important stage in the struggle for acceleration, whatever their job, the party members are called upon to provide

a powerful impetus to the irreversible processes which will enable us to take our country into a qualitatively new orbit of development.

G.A. Shutkov, general director of the Izhorskiy Zavod Production Association:

Let me continue with the description of our enterprise initiated by Yuriy Filippovich Solovyev and then move on to the crucial problems. In recent years, thanks to the great support of the CPSU Central Committee, the Leningrad party organization and the Ministry of Power Machine Building, the Izhorskiy Zavod Association has acquired everything necessary for further development. The old shops are being rebuilt and saturated with modern equipment; new capacities are being installed. This process is extremely important to the plant, which is 264 years old. This enterprise, which has specialized in a number of areas, is spread out. Today it covers 910 hectares and its rail tracks alone are 115 kilometers long.

Let us note among the most noteworthy results achieved by the collective, above all, the creation of capacities for the production of equipment of a nature entirely new to the plant: the first loop of nuclear power plants. The total annual output of AES equipment produced by the association today is 3.8 million kilowatts. However, this is not the limit and could be raised to 5 million. Furthermore, in recent years we have been able to increase the capacity for the production of electrical rock excavators to 170 pieces with a bucket capacity ranging between 5 and 15 cubic meters.

In answer to the concern shown by the party and the government for the development of our plant, metallurgical and machine builders, power workers and workers in transportation are trying to work creatively, with highest possible returns. All assignments for the volume and variety of output were met during the last 5-year period. The production of commodities increased 34.2 percent and labor productivity increased by 34.1 percent. The production of machine building goods, equipment for nuclear electric power plants above all, increased faster than planned.

As the figures prove, during the last 5-year period the plant specialists and workers had already made the only possible choice: to enhance the intensive factors for the development of output. The association's party committee and the party organizations of the structural subdivisions implemented a large set of steps aimed at harnessing the efforts of engineering cadres. Our engineers were assigned a task of tremendous importance: to ensure the comprehensive lowering of labor intensiveness, based on the application of new technological processes and production mechanization and automation. This led to a radical change in the attitude of the association's engineering services and shops toward reducing technological labor intensiveness. For example, whereas during the 10th 5-year period the association lowered labor intensiveness by 3 percent annually, during the 11th it averaged 5 percent.

About four-fifths of the production cycle in machine building output in small series or individual items for transportation and preparatory operations. The time spent in waiting for parts and assemblies in the course of the production process and for availability of the necessary machine tools and other equipment is substantial. For that reason the administration and the party

committee concentrated their main attention on improving the production management structure and replacing technological with item specialization. The machine-assembly shops employing between 1,000 and 1,800 people were subdivided and replaced with specialized shops employing between 500 and 600 people. Specialized sections and brigades were set up in them.

In other cases we combined similar or technologically related subdivisions. For example, we merged the previously existing rail and automotive shops and the transportation department within a single transportation administration, and the former section-rolling and type-rolling shops within a single steel rolling shop. In order to perfect management and eliminate duplication in the work, 12 departments were closed down and their functions were transferred to the various association administrations. As a result of such measures, transportation-preparatory operations and the time needed for parts and assemblies covering the production cycle was reduced by an average of 35 percent and production cycles as a whole, between 40 and 50 percent.

This 5-year period the entire increase in the volume of output as well will be secured through intensive factors. In accordance with the Intensification-90 program we are planning a lowering of labor intensiveness by an annual average of approximately 7 percent. The association has adopted a more stressed plan for this 5-year period compared with the last. The volume of output will increase by 40.1 percent and labor productivity by 42.3 percent. As a whole, in a 10-year period the volume of output will increase by 88.1 percent and labor productivity by 90.6 percent. Compared with 1985, by 1990 we shall be producing 50 percent more equipment for nuclear power plants. Overall machine building output will be increased by 52 percent.

Naturally, such major problems can be solved only by substantially improving labor results at each work place. This applies to all jobs without exception, for which reason the working people at the plant adopt as their own the targets set by the CPSU Central Committee to the labor collectives and their managements on the restructuring of the economic mechanism and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. We realize that these problems are very difficult and that long and intensive efforts will be required. What specific steps have been taken to implement our plans?

First, we took strict measures to strengthen labor discipline. A streamlined system for preventing drunkenness has been established at the plant. We have increased our exigency toward managers of shops and sections and brigade leaders on the state of labor discipline. Good results were achieved. Last year, losses from absenteeism dropped by 35.5 percent compared with 1984. In the first 10 months of this year the indicator of reduced working time losses dropped by 28.2 percent compared with the similar period in 1985. Without going into details, let me say that currently the necessary steps are being taken to improve the use of the working time of specialists. Losses substantially declined merely by introducing two additional passenger transportation lines on the plant's territory. Let me emphasize that all such measures are sincerely supported by the labor collectives. They are disliked only by those who are either unwilling or unable to work productively and creatively, with greater benefits for themselves and society.

Second, we try steadily to improve the structure of plant management and make this process permanent. Administrative systems must be flexible and such as instantly to react to the demands of the developing production process. For example, we recently set up a joint Energoblok-SKD-2 Bureau, on the basis of two design departments, thus eliminating 100 jobs. At the same time we closed down a weak design department, whose specialists were reassigned elsewhere.

Furthermore, a single design-technological department for semi-finished work was set up on the basis of the cold and hot stamping departments. The standardization technologists merged within a single department for the development of current technology and standardization. After the plant was given the task of building the first priority set of the "5000" sheet-rolling mill and the reconstruction of a 12,000-ton press, a special department for rolling and nonstandard equipment was set up as part of the production-dispatch administration.

This brief enumeration of the most noteworthy changes in management structure indicates, in my view, that the development of contemporary production is inconceivable without making energetic changes in management structure. Yes, this frequently and painfully affects the interests of some workers. However, the interests of the common cause must and always will be superior to circumstantial hurts and ambitions. Incidentally, today we judge of the degree reached in professional and civic maturity by the readiness of a person to accept change and new and increasingly stressed assignments. The practice of restructuring sets precisely such people at the cutting edge. I shall discuss in more detail our other problems as they appear in our discussion.

V.I. Ivlyushkin, first secretary of Kolpinskiy CPSU Raykom (Leningrad):

The problems discussed at this roundtable meeting are the pivot of the work of the rayon's party organization. No other way is possible, for maximal reliance on the use of highly productive equipment, freeing production areas from obsolete machine tools and converting the enterprise to work in two or three shifts is a platform for the work of all party committees. In the case of our rayon, which includes the city of Kolpino and five urban-type settlements, with a population of about 170,000 people, the restructuring and the faster development of the social infrastructure are of great importance, for here, unlike other Leningrad suburbs, we have a developed industry and a production area closely related to the social area.

In accordance with the plan, during the 5-year period the rayon's industrial enterprises must remove more than 2,500 pieces of obsolete equipment, worth a total of 29 million rubles, and raise the equipment shift coefficient to the 1.7 level. A total of 10,500 square meters of production area will become available, thus saving in excess of 2 million rubles in state capital investments. The plan calls for an annual replacement of about 12 percent of basic technological equipment in the rayon.

What will be the result? The fleet of ChPU machine tools will approximately double and the number of industrial robots will quadruple. Understandably, in this connection, the problem of capital returns becomes particularly crucial. During the 5-year period this indicator will either increase or remain stable

in a number of rayon enterprises. As a whole, however, a certain lowering of capital returns is expected in the rayon. In the first place, this will be the result of the intensive utilization of capital investments in the reconstruction of the Izhorskiy Zavod Association where the value of fixed assets will increase roughly 25 percent faster than at our other enterprises.

Today, 1 month after the conversion of the enterprise to multiple-shift work, we can mention some practical results in the main areas of intensification of the rayon's industry. For example, the inventory-taking of metal processing and technological equipment has been completed everywhere; a technical and economic study was made of the organizational structure of managing the work of the enterprise operating in two shifts; the sociodemographic structure of the personnel was determined and suggestions are being formulated on social problems. By 1 January 1987 the number of people working in two shifts in the rayon will increase by 500.

However, in addition to positive results, substantial shortcomings have become apparent. The first, in my view, is the inability or even unwillingness of some economic managers and party committee and buro secretaries to organize this important and complex matter properly and to channel the efforts of the collective in a single direction. For example, in several rayon enterprises inventory-taking of basic production capital was accomplished formally, without a thorough technical and economic study. Electric power consumption at most of our enterprises is still above the norm because of unrhythmical work of the equipment and poor organization of the work during the evening shift. Violations of labor discipline may be found as well. For example, a recent investigation revealed that during the evening shift at the Kolpino Machine-Casting Plant and other enterprises many workers leave their jobs ahead of time and that time-keeping is poorly organized. All of this proves that it is clearly too soon for us to relax. Furthermore, the time has come to harness all the efforts of the party organization to ensure the normal course of the restructuring and maintain its necessary pace.

As to the social aspects of the present stage in the implementation of the Intensification-90 program, the rayon soviet executive committee has been able to solve several important problems. This has become a good base which enables us to shift the emphasis to the quality of the work of offices and organizations providing services to the working people outside of work. Thus, today there is virtually no problem in the rayon with placing children in kindergartens and nurseries. The cultural institutions have enhanced their activities not only on Saturdays and Sundays but also weekday mornings. Health institutions have extended morning and evening reception hours and introduced self-appointments with physicians; trade organizations have prolonged the working time of stores mornings and evenings. Based on a sociological study, public transportation routes have been reorganized. The number of round-the-clock groups in kindergartens will be expanded maximally and two-shift work in housing and communal services will be established in the immediate future. Naturally, all of this is merely an overall organizational plan for the reorganization of the social infrastructure. A number of problems remain to be solved in order to give this plan a qualitatively new meaning.

Let me discuss very briefly the long-term social development of the rayon, for housing, consumer services, health care, culture and education constitute the environment which largely determines the mood of a person and his attitude toward his work. This very year 196,000 square meters of housing will be completed in the rayon. During the 5-year period five schools, six children's preschool institutions, a hospital-polyclinical complex and seven stores will be built; the number of seats in public catering institutions will be increased by 1,800. We are planning the construction of a consumer service combine and a trade complex.

However, today we are clearly short of building capacity. That is why the CPSU raykom and the rayon soviet executive committee are turning some social development problems over directly to the labor collectives. We believe that initiative, enterprise and a serious attitude toward the vital concerns of the people can and should be manifested in specific actions or, in simpler terms, specific new construction. It is precisely on this basis, using the method of building by the people themselves, that new markets for vegetables and other products appeared in Kolpino, properly appreciated by thousands of rayon working people. We intend to continue to direct our enterprises toward active participation in strengthening the social infrastructure.

I.N. Semenov, head of a turner-driller brigade, shop No 33:

I recall that during the proceedings of the 27th CPSU Congress, in their television reports correspondents asked one question of the delegates: As a specialist and frontranking worker, what can you suggest and advise for the sake of a successful restructuring and for increasing acceleration? I watched these broadcasts quite closely and tried, with the delegates, to answer this difficult question myself. I must say that the problem of restructuring faced the Izhorskiy people 20 years ago, when we, who were making excavators, were given a new unusual task involving the nuclear power industry.

It was at that point that the highly skilled workers mentioned by Yuriy Filippovich Solovyev, those who took care of their machine tools like the apple of their eye, found themselves almost totally unprepared for this assignment. We were forced not only to relearn but also to "reinstruct" our machines and develop new tools to cut high-strength steel, the behavior of which when processed, was unpredictable. I shall never forget the time when we were summoned by the chief of the shop where our grandfathers had built the first Soviet-made blooming furnace, and asked us whether we would undertake to machine the main connector of the nuclear reactor. My fellow-workers and I refused. Then, the shop chief said: "Well, give it a slightly more difficult task and the working class makes itself scarce?" This hurt a great deal. We had refused not because we were unable or unwilling to work but simply because there was nothing with which to do the work.

However, there was no time to waste. We submitted our suggestions and asked our engineers and technologists and, naturally, above all, our instrument designers for help. Many people did not believe that Izhorskiy could develop a set of tools, train people and convert machine tools to perform most complex tasks in the nuclear power industry. We did not counter this mistrust and inertia or, speaking frankly, opposition to the new immediately. When I

included the name of Gennadiy Alekseyevich Shutkov, who was then our party organizer, among the people who were to be transferred to the shop and become part of the initiative group, the skeptics said: all they want is to turn everything upside down.... Today I can mention with pleasure the names of engineers-technologists A. Cheremontsev and A. Zhevnerov, who, within an extremely short time, approximately 3 months, essentially developed an efficient streamlined system for retooling our machinery, making use of foreign, domestic and our own experience. Subsequent work took 18 months and is continuing in the main areas. The number of people of little faith dropped drastically. Through the joint efforts of workers and engineers, we were able to meet the requirements related to the production of nuclear power equipment. However, we undertook the serious mastery of the new items only in 1973, after we felt that we had gained a certain amount of experience.

Meanwhile, practical experience proved that the entire restructuring program could not be accomplished in a single shop. We went further by developing a system for the standardization of connecting elements despite the variety of models of our machine tools. It would be impossible to enumerate the individual companies which had produced these machines. Each company has its own coupling element. One can easily realize the number of tools which would have had to be made. This would amount to literally mountains of converters, milling machines and all kinds of chucks. The efforts to standardize coupling elements and cutting tools led to a drastic reduction, by a factor of 5 or 6, anything that could hold and cut a piece of metal in a machine tool. We thus freed manpower, designers, power and metal for other work. Such standardized tools began to "teach" and to discipline the machine tool workers.

Let me mention what hurts most. During that time what were our scientists doing and thinking? It took 12 years before got a domestically manufactured attachment: a tip with retractable blades for cutting cogs in that same main connector! This made us extremely happy and we most actively participated in refining it and, essentially, making its machining possible. We are very thankful to the scientist and designer who invented it. However, they did not go beyond this tip. They stopped there. Meanwhile, foreign companies supplied their workers not with a tap, not with a tip with retracting blades, but with a new principle. The worker can now cut the cogs by milling and has long forgotten the snapping of the tip which breaks the heart of a worker unless he is totally indifferent. In other words, the machine-tool worker was supplied with equipment which took him out of the cutting process. The worker participates only in preparing the machine for work, after which all he has to do is push a button and the machine cuts the part. We have such new tools at the plant but they do not say "made in the USSR."

We demand much more than that from the scientists. Why is it that the Soviet worker must spend a lifetime pushing a milling machine weighing tens of kilograms to the sharpening section, whereas in a capitalist enterprise the worker changes the part without removing it from the tool, simply by pressing a special lever? Or else let us consider the question of manufacturing and extensively using tools which need no sharpening. This question was raised at the council of brigade leaders in the sector and with the USSR State Committee for Labor and in our ministry. To this day, however, neither science nor the tools services have addressed themselves to production problems. We do not

simply demand. No, we also help science, we submit suggestions which could be developed. Use our experience and advice, and equip the machine tools with instruments which will not insult the individual. However, virtually no one makes a step in our direction. I believe that here it is a matter not only of the fact that our scientists lack sufficient incentives. In all likelihood, they also lack the simple, the natural desire to help the people and jointly to put their ideas to a practical test. Such qualities must be trained and developed. In this connection, I would like to share a few ideas concerning our plant education.

Our brigade consists of 18 people. It manufactures internal systems for nuclear reactors. The work is complex and the manufacturing cycle of the parts is lengthy, for which reason we do earn our wages. However, for the past 7 years we have not been short of workers and do not need outside specialists. How did this happen? When the question of drastically increasing the manufacturing of nuclear reactors was raised and we were asked, for the first time, to produce four sets instead of two and, subsequently, even more sets, we asked ourselves: Who would help us? We went to our base PTU. The group I visited had some 30 youngsters in the classroom. I told them honestly that our work is hard, it entails a great deal of responsibility but is interesting, and that I had come to them not because we could not cope with the assignments but because we need replacements, not drifters but knowledgeable and serious youngsters. Our time is nearing its end and the baton which we took from our fathers and grandfathers must be passed on to someone else. Only four of the 30 raised their hands.

It was those four that I took to the shop. Our shop chief, the now deceased Gennadiy Nikolayevich Chekushen, was very smart. He assigned to me the latest machine tool with programmed controls and numerical indicators and thus enabled me, without falling behind, to train these boys. Today they have become the backbone, the support which made it possible for the brigade once and for all, to refuse the "services" of waste makers and money grubbers who had come to the plant to take more and give nothing. We expelled them from the brigade, the section and the shop, one after another.

The next time I visited the school, I was accompanied by our new recruits. You can imagine the reaction of the boys who looked at the young turners and drillers, who had brought to the PTU records of their earnings. The future graduates were looking not at an elderly worker who may have been instructed to propagandize, but young people, only 3 or 4 years older than they, who were honestly describing their work. This time not four but 10 or 12 hands rose. Here is something curious: when I joined the plant I asked my father to put me behind the largest machine tool there was. Now, when the boys came, I asked them what tool they wanted to use. They did. I asked: Why precisely this one? They answered: Because it is clean and beautiful.

At this point, once again, I must mention the work of our scientists and designers. Why do Americans, Germans and Japanese supply their workers with gages with figures which are 50 millimeters high, legible 6 meters away (such is precisely the distance at which we work)? And why is it that Soviet instrument manufacturers make gages with 10-millimeter high digits? Bearing in mind that there are two lines of digits, several dozen of them, one can

easily imagine the strain on the eyes during the shift. This is the kind of "concern" shown for the working people. Yet it is such "petty matters" that directly determine the worker's desire to work or else to avoid such machines. Is this not a social problem? And what about modern labor safety equipment?

What makes such indifference to the needs of the people even sadder is that we have remarkable people. I invite all roundtable participants to the brigade. You will see boys whose average age is 24. It is they who made the "5000" mill. As we increased the production of our reactors, among others I was asked by our general director to handle a one-of-a-kind machine tool and to rebuild a 12,000-ton capacity press. Anyone who has seen such a machine will not believe that it was made by boys who, only yesterday, were students. Such is the value of the tradition of developing a proper attitude toward the work, for any equipment without the individual, without his mind and talent, is nothing but a piece of metal.

Excerpts from the Minutes

G.V. Pryakhin, political commentator, Central Television. Question to Yu.F. Solovyev:

Yuriy Filippovich, what do you consider most difficult for the party organizations in the implementation of the Intensification-90 program? How are the interests of the sector and the region combined within the program?

Yu.F. Solovyev:

The first question is about a problem of exceptional importance to us. As I pointed out, the comprehensive Intensification-90 program was drafted on the initiative of the oblast party organization and its aktiv. We made no distinction between the tasks of party and economic agencies. Today the dialectical connection between party and economic work is substantially clearer. Program requirements, such as upgrading labor productivity, the technical reconstruction of enterprises and the struggle for high production quality helped considerably to concretize the activities of party committees and to direct them toward priorities. However, due to the fact that there still is no efficient economic mechanism for efficiently securing the interest of the collective in reaching high quality indicators, the oblast party organizations are directly responsible for the successful implementation of the Intensification-90 program. Finding the proper way and not taking over from the economic bodies is the very complex task of the party committees. We try to master the methods of political guidance of the economy.

We believe that combining in our comprehensive program sectorial with regional interests is precisely what breaks the vicious circle according to which in some plants new capacities were not installed because there were no people and people could not be recruited for lack of housing. The demand for a strong social policy, formulated in the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress, are profoundly substantiated and totally aimed at the good of the Soviet people. We can meet our targets only by combining economic with social problems.

M.I. Voyeykov, dr of economic sciences, head of the sector on problems of labor activities and socialist self-management, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics. Question to G.A. Shutkov:

Gennadiy Alekseyevich, yesterday we visited the shops to look at the equipment and technology used. It is indeed a powerful and largely unprecedented type of production. Today, however, in your address hardly anything was said about the people who are engaged in economic restructuring, in the organization of technological processes. What do you, as director, see in the concept of "human factor?" In this connection, what role is assigned at the enterprise to brigade self-government?

G.A. Shutkov:

In my view, all participants in the restructuring must, above all, restructure activities for which they are responsible. In the case of the director, this involves a set of enterprise technical and economic indicators and the level of production organization. Naturally, therefore, I make use of these categories rather than, for example, terms borrowed from the area of education. The human factor is inexhaustible and we are only beginning to learn how to use it properly. To the economic manager this means, above all, creating for every working person and for the collective as a whole optimal conditions for highly productive and creative labor. Naturally, this task requires extensive knowledge of economics and technology. However, if it is solved, good results will be ensured from the moral viewpoint as well.

Let us consider for instance the approach applied in our enterprise to perfecting the administrative structure. All of these mergers or breakups of industrial, design or other subdivisions and cadre transfers related to them are not self-seeking. They are not administrative measures taken for their own sake. In changing the management system we intend, above all, to enhance the responsibility of the people for their work and its end results and eliminate efforts to pass responsibility "to the neighbor," or to make a specific assignment disappear in the confusion of interrelationships among shops and departments. Nothing educates a person better than the balanced and steadily increasing volume of actual obligations and rights and the legitimate opportunity effectively to influence the specific production process. It is only under such circumstances that we can objectively assess a person on the basis of a broad range of qualities, whether he is an ordinary worker or a manager controlling thousands of people.

I believe that the concept of "human factor" must be always specific and does not tolerate idle talk. On all occasions, as we face the collective and each one of its members with new requirements, we must provide organizational support to this area and to the manifestation of the features of thinking and behavior which have been "programmed" in the formulated tasks. Otherwise we would be unable to avoid major moral and material losses. Indifference, inertia to our appeals are rooted precisely in the gap between words and actions in the administrative area. The elimination of this gap means, in practical terms, releasing the powerful potential of initiative and thrifty attitude toward everything which surrounds us at work and, in the final account, which links man with society.

The problem of brigade self-government is complex and we should not be carried away by some positive results achieved by the primary cost accounting subdivisions. The problem here is that the "self-governing" brigade could hardly be such to the fullest extent, for it is part of the whole, a single link in the structure of the production organism. Nor am I confident of the possibility of introducing total cost accounting on the brigade level, for the marketing of the end product is, entirely understandably, theoretical on this level. The fact that today we use few of the opportunities provided by the brigade method is a different matter. We are currently trying to consolidate brigades of machine-tool workers and to apply the principle of brigade sets practiced at the Kaluga Turbines Plant.

Ye.G. Antosenkov, dr of economic sciences, director of the Scientific Research Labor Institute, USSR State Committee for Labor. Question to V.I. Ivlyushkin:

Vitaliy Ivanovich, you mentioned involving industrial enterprises in the development of the rayon's social infrastructure. This practice is being currently applied in many areas. What is your view: Are these forced steps and a tactical solution to the problem or a long-term trend in the work?

V.I. Ivlyushkin:

It seems to me that for a long time to come we shall continue to resort to the participation of collectives of industrial enterprises in the construction and equipment of social projects. The explanation is simple: construction facilities in most areas are severely behind contemporary requirements in the social development area. Nevertheless, we must not endlessly shift to the enterprise concerns which are not directly related to their specialization. As was pointed out at the 27th CPSU Congress, everyone should deal with his own job. Problems in this area are numerous and must be systematically solved and a simplistic approach avoided.

Yu.F. Solovyev. Question to Ye.G. Antosenkov:

This is more in the line of a suggestion. Yevgeniy Gregoryevich, does the USSR State Committee for Labor not consider the need to revise, on the basis of contemporary ideas, the list of skills for servicing computerized equipment? Current regulations state that processing centers using computers must employ a fourth or fifth grade fitter-repairman and an electrician. Meanwhile, electronics engineers, who are the only ones who can ensure the reliable functioning of such equipment, can be hired in any position other than the one stipulated in their diploma. Naturally, absurd situations arise. Above all, although frequently benefiting in terms of salaries, the engineers experience substantial moral harm for, as a rule, people acquire a higher education not in order to conceal it. This is a mass problem. Should the USSR State Committee for Labor not take steps to solve it?

Ye.G. Antosenkov:

In discussing the role of the engineer in industry, let us note the existence of several trends. In recent years we were quite concerned by the fact that thousands or tens of thousands of engineers set their diplomas aside "for

later" and took better-paid jobs as machine-tool workers. Now, in the course of the experiment in wages, such disproportions are being eliminated. I hope that in our roundtable discussion we shall hear about the practical application of the new methods for stimulating the labor of engineering and technical personnel, for this plant is part of the Leningrad experiment.

On the other hand, there is also the problem mentioned by Yuriy Filippovich Solovyev. Obviously, our standards have fallen behind reality and we must review them as fast as possible. The professional prestige of the engineer must be persistently and comprehensively strengthened.

[Editorial note] Under current conditions, socialist society considers as one of the principal means of implementing plans the active involvement in scientific and technical progress of the individual, with his basic interests and intellectual and spiritual potential. As the roundtable meeting indicated, the solution of this most important problem is impossible without the energetic and purposeful search of new approaches and ways and means of work by party committees, economic authorities and scientific institutions. The role of basic, sectorial and plant science in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the urgent problems of eliminating departmental and organizational barriers blocking the integration of scientists with production workers, problems of perfecting labor incentives, the activities of party committees in expanding the democratic principles in social life and cadre work at the present stage, along with other aspects of the debate held in Leningrad provide substantial grounds for theoretical considerations and summations and for drawing practical conclusions. (Continued in the next issue).

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INDIVIDUAL WORK FOR THE COMMON GOOD

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[Text] The recently published Law on Individual Labor Activity triggered a great deal of interest in all Soviet social strata and drew attention abroad. KOMMUNIST readers have asked the editors to explain some aspects of the new document from viewpoints of theory and practical application. Responding to this request, following is a talk between V. Sukhachevskiy, this journal's special correspondent, and noted specialists in the areas of the law, political economy and finance. The participants in this discussion were Professor R. Livshits, doctor of juridical sciences and leading scientific associate at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the State and Law; N. Lushina, candidate of economic sciences, senior scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Economy of the World Socialist System; and V. Tur, deputy chief, USSR Ministry of Finance State Revenue Administration.

[Question] In connection with the Law on Individual Labor Activity, Western propaganda has been actively promoting the idea of an alleged retreat from the basic principles of socialist economic management. The view has been expressed that private enterprise is being introduced in the USSR and an analogy with the NEP is being drawn. What can you say on this subject? What is the logical base for the promulgation of this law and what is its philosophy at the present stage in building socialism?

R. Livshits:

There has been no retreat whatsoever from the principles of socialist economic management. The clear stipulation of Article 1, that "no individual labor activity involving the use of hired labor is allowed," proves this unquestionably. As to a comparison with the NEP, we must say the following: the NEP was introduced under different historical circumstances. It constituted a major change in the economic policy of the state, something which is not found in expanding individual labor activity. Such activity is by no means the main factor in economic policy.

V. Tur:

Individual labor activity by the population in our country has always existed and is essentially, nothing new or unusual under socialist economic management conditions. Nevertheless, the forms of such activity changed at different historical times in accordance with objective circumstances. At the onset of Soviet rule, when the system of state and cooperative enterprises and organizations was insufficiently developed, individual activities were much greater in the production of commodities, providing a variety of consumer services and functioning even in trade and public catering. However, as the state and cooperative sectors gathered strength, individual labor activity was reduced, increasingly yielding to socialized enterprises and organizations.

For a variety of reasons, however, in the course of their production of commodities and providing services, such enterprises and organizations fell behind the growing needs of the working people. As time passed, the lagging in group B sectors and in services increased.

Today, as we can see, gradually this lag is beginning to be eliminated. It is clear, however, that a some time will be required before the state enterprises and organizations are able fully to meet population needs. Such needs, however, have increased immeasurably. Suffice it to point out that today there are several tens of millions of people in the country who own passenger cars and motorcycles. Tens of millions of families have television sets, tape recorders and various types of household equipment. Occasionally, such items need repairs. However, the state service industry is, for the time being, unable to meet this task efficiently and on a high-quality level.

The Soviet citizens developed new demands which are also not being fully satisfied as yet by state enterprises and organizations. For example, the people want to learn how to sew, embroider, engage in various modern types of sports, and study foreign languages. In this they can be helped by specialists who, in their free time, could head circles, instruct, etc. In other words, it is a question, while retaining as the main task the comprehensive development of state industry and services, to make use of the opportunities of individual labor consistent with the interest of society. Let me emphasize the most important stipulation of the law, to the effect that in the case of the overwhelming majority of citizens individual labor activity can be allowed only as a so-called second employment, i.e., during time free from their main job in the public economy. As we can see, this is quite different from the situation in the 1920s.

N. Lushina:

Since the question which my colleagues have already answered is of some theoretical interest, I would like to discuss it precisely from this point of view.

The implementation of the strategy of acceleration, formulated by the party, calls for involving all social resources, above all those which have so far either remained totally unused or were used extremely little. Individual labor activity is one of them.

The socialist society is a society of working people, for which reason any type of socially useful labor should be not only permitted by the law but also respected and encouraged. Naturally, this does not mean that society in general should not control individual activity or reliably block those who would like to profit at the expense of someone else.

Comprehensive historical experience in building and perfecting socialism in different countries proves that the development of the process of socialist socialization of labor and production does not automatically lead to the withering away of individual labor activity and its comprehensive replacement with collective forms of labor. Furthermore, efforts to legally ban one type of individual activity for another, as allegedly conflicting with the collectivistic nature of socialism, made in the past, brought about a number of negative economic and social consequences. Such efforts substantially impoverished the market for consumer goods and services and curtailed the retail trade network. For a number of reasons, some of them objective, the large state and cooperative enterprises were unable to compensate for such losses. This resulted in the development of the "covert economy," underground enterprise and speculation. The struggle against such phenomena through legal means alone neither yielded nor could yield necessary results.

A properly organized individual labor activity provides not only a reliable but also a sociopsychological foundation in the struggle against covert private enterprise, which leads to a parasitical existence based on the scarcity of a number of goods in mass demand and services, redistributing the consumers' income to its advantage.

A production process based on individual labor and the private ownership of means of production (or means of production leased from the state or from cooperatives) is considered petty commodity production. It coexists and interacts with large-scale socialist commodity production, based on state or cooperative ownership of means of production.

Whereas no one questions the socialist nature of large-scale output, some theoreticians tend to believe that petty commodity output is somehow alien to socialism and cannot fit within its system of production relations. It is no accident, for example, that goods and services provided by individuals in the socialist countries were until recently simply described as private, and individual producers were considered private entrepreneurs. There even developed a concept such as "private sector" under socialist conditions. Yet, since the categories of "private" and "socialist" are incompatible, conclusions were drawn concerning the socially alien aspect of individual production and its atavistic nature as a vestige of capitalism. Incidentally, also classified as vestiges were some other structural elements of the foundations of socialism itself such as, for example, commodity-monetary relations and the law of value which regulates them.

In accordance with the familiar stipulation of Marxist-Leninist theory, petty-commodity production has nowhere or ever been a separate production method but has existed within the framework of the specific production method dominating in a given society.

Under socialism, the objective conditions for the transformation of petty-commodity production into capitalist production have been eliminated once and for all and irreversibly. Petty-commodity production can no longer act as the socioeconomic foundation for the restoration of capitalist relations for, to begin with, in terms of its size and role in the national economy it cannot be compared with large-scale public production; second, it acts within the strict limits of state legislation; third, it not simply coexists with public production but is most closely related to it through thousands of means of cooperation. Under socialist conditions, petty-commodity production actually loses its private nature, if we ascribe to this concept a precise social meaning. Such production is nonsocialized only formally; essentially, it is if not directly at least indirectly, socialized for it operates within the overall system of socialist social production.

[Question] According to the specialists, what is the approximate number of citizens who would like and are able to engage in individual labor activity and how, hypothetically, could the volume of output of goods and services in this area be assessed? Could conditions arise for a certain rivalry among state, cooperative and individual production sectors and services and what would this entail?

R. Livshits:

As we know, in our country approximately 130 million people are engaged in public production. Sociological studies conducted in individual parts of the country have indicated that as many as 40 percent of them have or would like to have additional paid jobs. However, there also are more than 55 million pensioners and handicapped, 5.5 million university and technical school students and a huge army of housewives. Naturally, not all of them would like to engage in individual labor activity, for this requires additional investment of efforts and a certain risk, for in this case payments for labor are not guaranteed as they are in public production.

However, society is not interested in having the individual labor activity become self-seeking the case of tens of millions of people. The social interest lies elsewhere: in the fuller satisfaction of the needs of the individual. The size of the need is determined also by the number of people who would like to engage in individual labor activity. For example, the better a workshop for custom-made clothing works, the lesser will be the number of people wishing to hire private tailors, and vice versa. Today neither state services nor the consumer market can fully satisfy the needs of the people, for which reasons society is interested in developing individual labor activity toward which it has adopted a positive attitude in which it approves and encourages. This, in my view, is the essence of the new law.

As to rivalry.... Today we are forced to address ourselves to the various consumer service enterprises even if it takes a long time for our orders to be filled and the quality is poor. The "individual" artisan would be approached only if he works better (although charging more) than the state workshop or his own neighbor. Such a skillful worker can simply not afford to do poor work, for in that case no one would go to him and he would be "burned

out." Therefore, sensible and natural competition will be, we assume, a means of upgrading the quality of commodities and services.

V. Tur:

Could we hope that with the enactment of the new law a number of citizens will engage in individual labor activity? I believe that the number of such people will unquestionably increase. This will be substantially enhanced by the stipulation in the law which calls for the local soviets and enterprises and organizations to assist them in acquiring raw and other materials and organizing the marketing of their goods and services.

N. Lushina:

As we know, the biggest bottleneck in our domestic market is that of paid population services. According to available data, in 1985 they accounted for 23.4 percent, including 25.2 percent for repairs and technical servicing of private vehicles, 7.2 percent for repairs and construction of housing as requested by the population, 0.2 percent for the repair of knitted goods, 2.1 percent for dry cleaning and dying, and 0.8 percent for furniture repairs. The unsatisfied demand for services provided by the state is assessed at several billion rubles. Now this can be largely compensated with the Law on Individual Labor Activity.

Although, unquestionably, large-scale production is the base of the socialist economy, above all in its main sectors, it is unable to meet the entire variety of social needs, particularly under the conditions of their steady growth and differentiation. Furthermore, many of the needs are essentially individual, for which reason their satisfaction demands not mass production but precisely petty and, specifically, individual work. This applies, above all, to most consumer services, such as individual construction and repair of housing, repairs of household appliances, clothing, shoes, custom-made clothing, care for the sick and the very old, etc.

Furthermore, the use of small production enterprises, based on individual or small cooperatives, as worldwide experience indicates, is economically expedient in small-series and auxiliary production facilities in industry and in some agricultural sectors and the agroindustrial complex as a whole (including the processing of agricultural commodities), some types of transportation services and retail trade.

It is such output that creates the opportunity, without substantial capital investments, significantly to increase the production of a number of consumer goods and to provide services and conditions for flexibly reacting to changes in market demand, relying not only on centralized resource procurements but also on the extensive use of small local sources of raw materials and waste from large-scale production.

Under these circumstances, efficient use could be made of manpower, particularly in services which, by virtue of their technological features, cannot be applied in large-scale production facilities. This applies to pensioners, students, housewives, the handicapped and people who would like to

hold second jobs for the sake of additional income. This is particularly important considering the scarcity of manpower.

The production of commodities and services could be brought closer to the consumer through individual and petty-cooperative activity and, on this basis, lower the cost of hauling goods to the outlying areas of large industrial centers and, to a certain extent, equalize the living conditions of people living in different-size settlements.

The state thus acquires the opportunity of closing down unprofitable or losing enterprises by leasing them to individuals, families or small cooperative associations which will ensure their profitable work.

Individual and petty-cooperative labor activity will enable us to involve in the production process some of the population's funds which were previously spent exclusively on personal consumption. Within such activity, one could make fuller and more efficient use of the unique capabilities, knowledge and labor skills of individual citizens who lack the incentive for dedicating all their efforts in work at large enterprises for reasons of labor organization and wages.

In addition to economic there also are important social reasons for expanding the range and improving conditions for individual labor activity. Among the various means of self-expression of the individual, labor activity is not only the most natural to man but also the most important to society. That is why society is interested in the fuller use of any form of labor activity it considers useful. Individual labor, as a form of self-expression, enables the working person to display to a maximal extent his skill, unique capabilities and labor habits which, in this case, are not equalized. Furthermore, such labor is largely related to direct end results--the creation of a finished product or services which some people find more attractive than performing a specific operation at a large enterprise. Socialist society cannot ignore this, even if people displaying such inclinations are an absolute minority among the able-bodied population.

Nor should we ignore the desire of many citizens legitimately to increase their income. This is particularly important in the case of large families and the retired, and some categories of working citizens whose earnings are low. Individual labor activity offers favorable prerequisites to this effect. It would be unfair to qualify the desire of such people for additional, albeit high, income as money-grabbing and passion for enrichment, for they earn their income and not acquire it through bribery, fraud or theft.

[Question] Has the experience of other socialist countries been used in drafting the new law? In this connection, how do they define the limits of individual labor activity, in trade and public catering, for instance?

R. Livshits:

Unquestionable, use was made of the experience of the other socialist countries. It is equally true that one cannot duplicate a specific phenomenon without taking different circumstances into consideration. To begin with, in

our country the priority of public production is the most strongly emphasized. This is the result of long progress on the path of socialism. Second, in the European socialist countries there is a certain withdrawal of active citizens from public production in favor of individual labor activity. The evaluation of this phenomenon is neither one-dimensional nor simple and we consider it undesirable in our case.

Furthermore, the new law enables us to take a new step forward in the development of individual labor activity. The future will indicate whether this step is sufficient to ensure the fuller satisfaction of the needs of the population for goods and services. Should it prove insufficient, it would be expedient to widen the scope of individual labor activity.

N. Lushina:

The efficient functioning of economic enterprises in the individual sector, as practical experience of countries, such as Hungary, the GDR and Bulgaria indicates, substantially outstrips the efficiency of similar enterprises within the state sector. The explanation is that the types of work which, by virtue of their scattered nature, cannot be substantially mechanized, are concentrated in the individual sector. Their centralization at large enterprises is economically unprofitable, for in this case primarily manual labor is usually less intensive than at small enterprises in the individual sector, where overhead is significantly lower. Furthermore, individual producers are more economical in the use of raw and other materials and energy, for their income is directly related to such thrift. The Hungarian experience, for example, indicates that labor productivity per person employed in the individual sector exceeds labor productivity of a person employed at a state enterprise or in "traditional" cooperatives in the various areas by a factor of 2-4.

We must not ignore some difficult problems paralleling the positive results of the use of various forms of petty production in the socialist countries, already achieved or expected in the future. With a favorable market situation, "individual activity" could dictate its conditions to the consumer, extracting excessively high profits, particularly without a proper taxation system for petty-commodity producers and a system of state and public control over the financial results of their activities.

The experience of some countries also indicates that frequently the functioning of small enterprises creates several material incentive systems, which becomes a prerequisite for an undesirable transfer of manpower from large enterprises to small-scale production and for lowering labor discipline (particularly among workers holding two jobs), pursuit of high income, etc.

[Question] What would the cost of a license be, and what taxes would be levied in the course of individual labor activity? For example, private car owners have expressed doubts as to the expediency of providing transportation services to the population because of unsuitable economic conditions.

V. Tur:

The new law clearly stipulates that taxes will be levied on income earned by citizens from employment involving individual labor activity. It lists the basic taxation principles: size of earned income and consistency between individual labor and public interest. The current individual income tax legislation is consistent with these stipulations: it calls for progressive taxation as income rises and offers a number of advantages to individuals engaged in the production of consumer goods and consumer services, compared to other types of individual activity considered less necessary from the viewpoint of the public interest.

Nevertheless, the more extensive use of the principles of social justice in income distribution will require further improvements in tax legislation. In particular, in my view, it will be necessary to revise the somewhat obsolete benefits and refine the procedure governing nontaxable minimal income.

The law calls for applying for the purchase of a license for the right to engage in individual labor activity. This method has a number of positive features. On the one hand, citizens who have paid for their license would be free from paying income tax (which usually presumes the payment of estimated income tax throughout the year, subsequently recomputed on the basis of the actually earned income for the year) and, consequently, the filing of tax returns. On the other hand, this offers the individual the opportunity of displaying sufficient initiative in earning an income higher than estimated, which determines the cost of the license. Finally, the fiscal authorities will not have to investigate the size of the income earned by the citizen during the year.

However, purchasing a license involves a certain contradiction. In this case it is as though the state is no longer interested for a period of time in the actual earnings of the people. In some cases this could lead to the fact that someone earning a higher income would pay a lesser tax compared to a person who files his regular income tax return. That is why, in determining the type of activity for which licenses could be purchased and in determining their cost, the councils of ministers of union republics must take a careful look on the entire so-called technology in issuing licenses. In any case, the cost of a license should be no lesser than the income tax which would be paid by a citizen engaging in such activities without it. We should take into consideration that the profitability of a given type of activity frequently substantially varies from one economic and administrative area of the country to another and even within a single oblast. Expenditures related to practicing a given skill may also vary, and so should the cost of a license.

The question is sometimes asked: What is more profitable: to purchase a license or to pay the usual income tax? This is a wrong question. Naturally, those who purchase their license in advance incur a substantially higher one-time expenditure. This, however, is subsequently redeemed, as we pointed out.

N. Lushina:

Although the labor intensiveness and quality in the individual sector are, as a rule, significantly higher than at large socialist enterprises, the higher income of individual producers, compared with that earned by workers similarly employed in the public sector (although entirely legitimate) frequently causes discontent among the latter. All of this presumes the need for a thought-out and attentive attitude by the state toward the activities of individual commodity producers and the simplest forms of their cooperative associations. State supervision of their activities requires well-organized control (above all through taxes and prices) over observing the legislation which regulates the various aspects of activities of such producers. However, some steps in support of such activities are also necessary.

R. Livshits:

Obviously, neither the income tax nor the cost of a license should be excessive, for otherwise we would simply suppress such individual labor activity in which society is interested. Let me point out that the average income tax rate of the majority of workers and employees in the public sector is roughly 13 percent. There is a certain logic in using this figure as a base in determining the income tax to be paid by people engaged in individual labor activity. In the case of high income, substantially exceeding the size of the wage in basic production, clearly, a higher income tax should be levied. I believe that a high taxation is possible and expedient in the case of high income. This is one of the manifestations of social justice. The USSR Ministry of Finance and the other state authorities must now display wisdom in determining the size of the tax and the cost of licenses in order to make individual labor activity advantageous to one and all.

[Question] We know that in supervising the observance of legislation on the struggle against unearned income we come across a number of cases of exaggerations, of excessive zeal displayed by a variety of law enforcement and control authorities. What is contemplated to prevent the further occurrence of such cases with the enactment of the new law?

V. Tur:

Obviously, above all more explanatory work is needed both on all levels of the state apparatus involved in this as well as among the population. We must make a profound study of the entire volume of legislative and legal instructions which, one way or another, are related to this problem. In this connection all the necessary laws and instructions of the respective ministries and departments must be issued as quickly as possible and made known to the executive committees and the population. Finally, from the very first days of the enactment of the new law, efficient and thorough supervision of the work of local authorities must be organized.

At the same time, a great deal depends on the way the executive committees of the soviets will deal with issuing permits. They must closely consider the requests of citizens who express the desire to engage in artisan crafts, provide consumer services and medical help and tutoring and engage in other

types of activities, objectively assessing the need to practice one occupation or another and strictly safeguarding the interests of society, guided by the existing legislation on permitting or prohibiting various types of industrial labor activity.

R. Livshits:

Let me draw attention to the basic legal formulation of the law: all that is not prohibited is permitted. The use of this concept in the new document (Articles 12, 15 and 18) is symptomatic. It must become basic in the application of the law.

The list of the types of work and services allowed by the law is not closed. This means that the executive committees of local soviets--city, rayon, settlement or rural--must not refuse a permit for given type of individual labor activity solely because it has not been listed in the law as being allowed. Nor is there a need for especially drawing up lists of jobs and services allowed by the law; such lists will be extended by life itself and by the practical experience of the executive committees, based on the requirement of satisfying population needs. Therefore, the executive committee has the right to allow, for example, the opening of family or small-cooperative coffee shops and breakfast rooms. Such practices, as we know, exist in the Baltic area and the Transcaucasus and have proven their usefulness.

The question of prohibited types of work and services is different: their list included in the law is complete and can be extended only through changes in the legislation.

It is precisely on the basis of all of this that we must proceed in supervising the implementation of this law.

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INITIATIVE BASED ON COST ACCOUNTING

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[Article by A. Golomazov, first secretary of the Novosibirsk Komsomol Gorkom, and A. Shaposhnikov, candidate of economic sciences]]

[Text] Today the need to formulate a system for the "active assistance in developing the initiative of young citizens... and youth hobby clubs and implementation of socially important ideas and suggestions on organizing the leisure time of young people" is more urgent than ever. This quotation is not a theoretical concept or recommendation by sociologists. It is an excerpt from the statute of the Novosibirsk City Youth Initiative Fund, set up on the initiative of the city Komsomol and approved by resolution of the executive committee of the city soviet in January 1986. The activities of the fund are aimed at intensifying the social activeness of young people, organizing their leisure time and promoting their interests and need for creative work and intercourse and developing an initiative-minded creative personality, distinguished by high communist morality and aesthetic and physical standards.

The process of acceleration of our life and the restructuring of all its aspects presumes active participation of initiative-minded and creatively thinking people, young people above all. Meanwhile, frequently and, essentially with some justification, young people are accused of lack of initiative and spirituality and irresponsibility, although, true, the careful stipulation is made that such features "occur," "are occasionally encountered" and are "inherent in some young people only." Nevertheless, are there many such "individual young people?" The frank answer of the sociologists is yes! Their number would increase even further unless we find efficient means of involving the participation of young people in the initiated restructuring.

Contemporary specialists in the theory and practice of management consider viable only a system which has an efficient mechanism for the support and development of initiatives, in which no useful idea is wasted. It is precisely the lack of such mechanism which largely explains many of the difficulties of applying the achievements of scientific and technical progress. This essentially affects young people, for naturally they display a great deal of initiatives in various areas of activities while practical opportunities for their implementation are distressingly small.

A particularly difficult situation has developed in the area of the leisure time, which is playing an increasingly noticeable role in the development of society and the molding of the new person and which, according to Marx, is the time allocated for the free development of the individual. Yes, precisely free development! However, a great deal of what attracts young people during their leisure time is frequently considered unnecessary excess, harmful luxury and, finally, "attraction to alien things." For example, we have read and heard the following: jogging is useful (all that is required is running shoes), while car rallies, wind surfing or skateboards are considered as almost "tricks of the devil," and our Soviet youth have no business practicing them. This is a strange, one would say an even archaic approach to the problem of organizing the leisure time of young people and developing their initiatives today. Is this not the reason for which extremely little has been and is being done in our country in terms of providing relaxation, particularly for young people, while the energy of the young sometimes finds release in drunkenness and delinquency?

It is at this point that the fund comes in. This may be a rather unusual term which, however, precisely reflects the nature of its tasks. The problem, as formulated at last June's Novosibirsk City Komsomol Committee plenum, was to develop the area of youth leisure time. The resolutions of the 27th Party Congress and the CPSU Central Committee Decrees "On Measures to Surmount Drunkenness and Alcoholism" and "On Measures to Improve the Utilization of Clubs and Sports Equipment" quite clearly call for restructuring the organization of the leisure time of the population, the young in particular, and the changes in its structure. Today, according to sociological data, only 150 of the 360 minutes of daily leisure time go into cultural occupations; the rest of the leisure time is described as unassigned. How to spend one's leisure time? Where would someone with an idea for an interesting organization of the leisure time go?

It may seem that a widespread network of special institutions and departments are there to take care of the leisure time: trade unions, the Komsomol, sports, culture, and health care. Actually, the leisure time is not filled up and there is no organized mechanism for the development of useful initiatives or for duplicating the experience of the best clubs and associations. This applies to the well-known Raduga Family Club in Pushchino, the Georgian Amirani Club, the Olimpiya Sailing Club in Pavlovo-na-Oke and many others. One of the reasons for this is the departmental approach or, in Lenin's words, the desperate "departmentalism," which he considered one of the dangers threatening the building of socialism. The Komsomol plays a special role in the struggle against it in the area of organizing the leisure time, for essentially this is a nondepartmental and a most democratic institution. The unique experience of the Novosibirsk Komsomol in establishing and running amateur organizations and hobby clubs, such as the Terpsikhora Association of Dance Lovers and the Sibiryak Mountaineering Club are well-known beyond city limits. This success can be largely explained by the systematic implementation of the principle of social self-government, which is one of the fundamental stipulations of the statutes of the Youth Initiative Fund.

Today a great deal is being written about self-government, which is being applied at enterprises, establishments, schools and VUZs. Frequently,

however, a closer look would show that not even traces of it can be found, for that which is needed for self-government does not exist! For granting rights and functions to the subject of government and formulating specific requirements toward him makes sense only when he needs it, when it is dictated by the importance of problems to be solved. This looks like the other side of the cybernetic law of required variety, according to which the system of managing complex projects cannot be simple for in such a case it would lack the necessary set of governmental influences on the subject. In bookkeeping, neglect of this simple rule led to the dissemination of so-called boiler-pot accountability system, in which outlays are considered for a consolidated project (a shop, for example) as a whole, making it impossible to determine who specifically is responsible for cost overruns or savings, and how was anything achieved. The result is something resembling the "average hospital temperature," in which one patient has a high fever, the other one has an abnormally low body temperature, but the average is normal: 36.6 degrees C. Obviously, in neither case does the system function normally, in a balanced and efficient manner, in all aspects.

Roughly speaking, the following situation may frequently be found in public self-government: the subject of government is something indefinite or is reduced down to purely symbolic dimensions, while the old requirements remain: to display initiative and enterprise, far-sightedness, economic competence, etc. But where would all such qualities come from if the people cannot apply them?

Let us take university student self-government. On what scale have self-government rights been delegated in this area? What specifically is the area in which the students govern themselves, what decisions can they make, what precisely do they decide instead of expressing their complaints, wishes or requests to the VUZ management?

Yet here as well experience is available. Let us name the Novocherkassk Polytechnical Institute and the universities in Rostov and Tomsk, where students have at their disposal a variety of resources, including financial. The latter is of tremendous educational importance. This was proved by Makarenko himself, who sacredly believed in the need for and benefits of self-government.

Self-government is inconceivable without independent activities and autonomy. Alas, it so happens that the term activity is linked in our mind exclusively to the adjective "artistic." Unwittingly, we imagine a brilliantly lit stage, and endless dances by beautiful Russian girls in expensive clothing, purchased with enterprise funds, and an endless series of reviews and competitions. Yet independent activities include all kinds of activities which take place without any sort of outside pressure, exclusively based on inner motivations, as V. Dal himself interpreted this concept, applicable to economic, moral or political affairs. The same must be displayed in a great variety of areas. This was openly stated at the 27th Party Congress. However, such activities are impossible without independence.

The starting point in the study of the problem of independence under socialism is the Leninist theory of democratic centralism as the fundamental principle

of the political and economic management of socialist society. It is exceptionally important accurately to define the boundaries of independence. According to the scientists, they should be based on the standards governing outlays and results, with the help of which the local collectives, guided by the principle of "maximal results with minimal outlays" would be able to find by themselves the type of economic management which would most accurately agree with the national economic interests.

A single step separates autonomy from self-recovery as the most efficient means of testing the accuracy of independently determined solutions. The fund initiators are well-aware of this. Before funds can be handled, they must be earned. Paying for the income earned through one's labor is one of the fundamental types of economics. However, making ends meet is not sufficient. One must also have development funds. In other words, in this case we cannot avoid self-financing. Naturally, the possibility of financial aid (repayable or not) is not excluded and nor is the use of enterprise funds, based on a contract for creative cooperation. Nevertheless, the fees of the members of the collective, income from paid-for activities and from Komsomol and youth subbotniks are the base of the fund's finances. These are stable income sources, which could be efficiently handled and used to provide material support for any socially significant initiative. However, the fund is not a charitable organization in which all one has to do is ask. The economics of recreation, like any other type of economics, does not tolerate dependency. It requires the use of thrifty and profitable means of economic management which would make it possible to earn the necessary funds to develop recreational activities. This is possible only if decisions are taken independently and on the basis of total cost accounting. The word "total" is not accidental: delete self-financing, self-recovery and self-government or other "selves" from cost accounting, you will have a damaged model of cost accounting, as is frequently encountered in our current harsh economic and financial reality. The vague term "elements of cost accounting" is a convenient screen for some economic managers. Essentially, there is no cost accounting; officially, the pretense is that it exists and makes the submission of favorable reports possible.

Today the need for a broad, though-out and daring application of cost accounting in the activities of all sorts of youth amateur clubs and associations is beginning to be increasingly realized. Such activities can be beneficial not only educationally but economically as well. We believe that cost accounting is the universal lever for changing the world of obsolete concepts and habits, something which is urgently called upon by the party today. Unfortunately, to this day the "zealous guardians" of the purity of socialist theory and practice in the area of culture are firmly convinced, for example, that a commercial approach is incompatible with educational tasks. Such views are manifestations of the old disease of underestimating and even slighting commodity-monetary relations. As viewed by a certain segment of our cadres, they are necessarily related to something base, in which shady commercial practices, dependency and the power of ready cash rules the people. Such concepts are a variety of modern communist boastfulness, which was so mercilessly scourged by Lenin. As practical experience confirms, it easily coexists with philistine and essentially petit bourgeois hypocrisy: in our country, it is claimed, everything is based on ideology and not commercialism.

How not to recall at this point the thought expressed by M.S. Gorbachev at the conference with the aktiv of the Khabarovsk Kray Party Organization. In discussing the need to find answers to the new questions not beyond the limits of socialism but within our system, he nevertheless emphasized that "nor should we allow obsolete dogmas to glaze our eyes, to hinder us from going forward and creatively to develop theory and put it to practical use."

Why should an amateur actor not earn some money if he is good? And why should a poor professional actor earn well, quite well at that? Under conditions of a free competitiveness, the value of a creative action can be quite accurately calculated in terms of revenue rubles. One can and must struggle through the ruble against undesirable phenomena as well. The ruble is much more efficient than ordinary prohibitions, pious wishes calling for increased responsibility or explanatory work. In the areas of culture and youth recreation as well, a flexible cost accounting system could successfully operate, in which creative interests become most closely interwoven with economic ones. Lenin indicated the key role which personal interest plays in the development of socialist society, saying that socialism cannot be built or communism approached simply with enthusiasm; this can be accomplished with the help of enthusiasm, personal interest and cost accounting.

The young people in Novosibirsk welcomed the decision of the city party committee, which indicated the expediency of setting up a Youth Initiative Fund, with great satisfaction. This provided a good impetus for the speediest possible organization of this fund. In under 2 months from the first draft of its statutes it was approved by the city soviet executive committee and its bank account was opened. This was an unprecedented event! It was an example of acceleration in its tangible aspect, for the decision-making procedure itself must be accelerated.

"'Ideas' have invariably failed the moment they were separated from 'interest'," Marx wrote. Today we can already say that the Youth Initiative Fund is a successful attempt at developing, under Komsomol guidance, of a separate administrative structure, based precisely on interest. Members of a great variety, of sometimes quite unexpected types of hobby clubs are joining the fund. Some need material support; others can earn the funds themselves but need proper guidance. This fund legalizes and streamlines the elements of youth interests and attractions.

"Millions of people have learned how to do without us," sadly remarked a noted man of culture in discussing problems of the organization of the leisure time. In our view, the reason for this should be sought in the bureaucratic overorganization of the activities of many institutions in the fields of culture and sports and, as Herten said, the dead ceremoniousness which has replaced all live action. Naturally, many examples could be cited of properly working clubs and palaces of culture. The point, however, is that each one of them inevitably includes enthusiasts who are successful frequently despite rather than thanks to the activities of said institutions. Therefore, in terms of the leisure time, the interests of departments and working people may differ.

The Sibiriyak Ski Club requested of the oblast sports committee help in procuring a cable for a lift (at state prices).

"Unfortunately, there is nothing we can do to help," was the answer.

"What about 10 pairs of skis for children?"

"There are none."

"What about an assignment to Moscow, to participate in the roundtable discussion on problems of ski clubs?"

"A permit must be issued by the RSFSK State Committee for Sports."

"Can you not issue such a permit?"

"We cannot."

"And even for such things one must ask Moscow?"

"Absolutely!"

That is the long and the short of it. Yet the oblast sports committee has people who are specifically in charge of developing mass physical culture and sports. Perhaps the fact that such an exchange took place is not their fault but their trouble?

The fund found it possible to help the city skiers. But then how many more wandering and unknown groups and associations of tourists, book lovers, musicians or athletes who do not knock at any door and do not request anything having long lost faith in making such requests, roaming in our cities? Yet they must believe, they must become aware that real help is available, and we must open the door of their ideas, fantasies and initiatives!

The fund's "idea bank" is rich with most daring projects in which practicality is based on creativity and creativity is supported by practicality. Either one needs the other. This truth is confirmed through the activities of the fund personnel, who are finding ever new opportunities for the implementation of even the most daring plans and the development of initiatives. Sergey Bugayev, responsible secretary of the fund, Igor Radchenko, its deputy chairman, Vasilii Zvyagintsev, its chief bookkeeper, and Aleksandr Mezdrikov and Oleg Tsyba, members of the board, are young and energetic people. They all have something to say about the initiatives that come in. The fund's board consists of 15 members who, as a rule, are able organizers, known activists in club affairs and enthusiasts. Today they are described in the Komsomol as "devotees," a term which had been unjustifiably forgotten. At the present time such dedicated people have many followers who freely devote their leisure time to organizing interesting relaxation by others. They must be properly directed and helped in acquiring the necessary knowledge and skills and their initiatives must be given moral and material support.

More than 40 separate groups, hobby clubs and amateur associations, with 5,000 members, have joined the fund with collective-membership status.

There is always excitement at the doors of the fund's building the day the board meets. The youngsters know that here they will be supported, they will be "taken under someone's wing." If needed, they will be given a premise and even helped to withstand the adversities which still afflict the devotees as they open virgin paths in the area of recreation. Here are two of them wearing the uniform of youth: banana-shaped pants and extravagantly cut jackets.

"Let us hear from you, boys. What are you bringing to the fund?"

"We are into Indian studies...."

"Yes.... We do not come across this frequently. Most frequently those who come are managers of discotheques and home-grown VIA. These people now are interested in the culture of the North American Indians. They have been already able to learn something, to read, to hear, to see. They would like to meet with people sharing the same interests. They hope that the fund will given them the right to exist, will help them to organize correspondence and hold joint activities, for throughout the world, as in our country, there are many clubs dedicated to Indian studies.

Indian studies.... It would be unlikely that any money could be earned for the fund from this habit but this is something real, particularly if we bear in mind the hypothesis according to which the Indians are the descendants of native Siberian ethnic groups which settled in America at a time when there was a isthmus linking Alaska to Chukotka. Shall we accept these boys as members of the fund? We shall!

All in all, for the time being there are only five Indianists. But is this a question of numbers? Why conceal it, we have become accustomed to broad, to grandiose accomplishments and undertakings. Why celebrate in the courtyard when we can spill out on the street! Not enough? Then let us celebrate in the rayon, the city, the oblast! In such cases daily painstaking work becomes tarnished and forgotten and not somehow praiseworthy. Yet any good initiative is a contribution to the genetic fund of ideas! What is most important is for it to live, to enrich collective experience with new concepts about the world, to make our lives brighter. It is particularly this that constitutes the live creativity of the masses, a creativity which needs scope and support.

It is thanks to our support that the creative jazz association (TDO) has today a rather powerful creative and organizational potential and sponsors festivals, competitions and jazz days. The TDO sells tickets for such events, the earnings of which go to the fund. Next to it is the creative association of masters (TOM) and others, combining beauty with usefulness in their creations. The extent of their success is determined by the fund's artistic council. The items are sold on commission by the stores and the earnings, again, go to the fund which settles with the masters on the basis of stipulated rates. All of this is experimental.

One such experiment has been successfully completed. An amateur group of fashion makers appealed to the fund, for no tailor shop risked to make suits according to their sketches. Everyone feared excessively daring lines and colors and the fact that the extravagance would frighten customers away. An initial grant of 800 rubles was given to the group. Fabrics were purchased with the money. The fashion designers sewed beautiful youth sets. After several very successful exhibits the collection was sold out at a celebration sponsored by the newspaper MOLODOST SIBIRI. Now the fund has an experimental group for artistically designed clothes.

At that same city holiday the fund sold the first collection for Novosibirsk of recordings of Siberian song writers and amateur folklore ensembles. The young people willingly purchased the tastefully presented cassettes. This is a real answer to the low-taste music performances of some amateur VIA. Surrogates must be countered with true art and in order to help it to stand firmly on its feet more daring experimentation is needed. The potential of any experiment is assessed by the fund itself or, more accurately, by its board, for the fund could gain tangible benefits if successful but would also pay for failures.

Any new development always encounters many difficulties. This is what makes so important the competent assessment of results and the material interest in each suggestion on the part of involved individuals and organizations. Any interference which harms the useful initiative should not remain economically unpunished. The results of such impunity can be seen in the work of motion pictures, theatres and some of our publishing houses. The latest example is the complex path to the reader of a splendid feature film on Raymond Pauls. The zealous guardians of ideological-artistic purity had undertaken to delete from this film one bit after another, with total impunity. Yet the right to take a risk as well as paying for it must be stipulated and that is precisely why we have full cost accounting.

Experimentation in the organization of youth leisure time is the most important statutory requirement of the fund. On this basis enthusiasts organized an experimental group for video communications (EGVIK), which charts pedestrian traffic on city streets. It will be decided later whether this group will merely draw up plans as ordered or will undertake to implement the projects. An initiated and supported experiment may be interesting but is also difficult and...dangerous. For it does involve money. Control through the ruble is the life of this fund, based on cost accounting. That is why computations are made and accounts are submitted. It would simply not do here without the interested participation of highly skilled financial experts, lawyers and bookkeepers in drafting such reports.

Naturally, the Komsomol gorkom realizes the difficulties of the fund. Its path is indeed complex and here is why: first, it is something new, and one must virtually feel his way around. The existing laws and financial instructions not only do not assist our movement but sometimes even hinder it. Second, it is difficult to follow this path without reliable and experienced assistants, with real material and financial levers of influence at their disposal. In other words, the fund requires a most favorable support system provided by city and oblast institutions.

Many of them have been and are assisting the fund. Initially, the Komsomol obkom appropriated for the fund salaries for two instructors; the city executive committee provided premises in the center of the city--half of the first floor of the snow-white building next to the Ploshchad Lenina subway station. The bank as well helped the fund. A. Sultanov, who was then in charge of the city's bank office, was a graduate of the Novosibirsk Institute of the National Economy and a young man himself. To him participation in the work of the fund was not an additional boring obligation but an important and interesting project with a great future, needing support. That is why a Youth Initiative Fund bank account was opened without red tape. However, by no means did everyone become involved in the fund.

Many of its programs were possible only by interacting, for example, with the public catering administration, the culture department or the oblast sports committee. However, we are far from having achieved total reciprocal understanding with them. For the time being, these organizations act as outside observers, waiting to see whether the fund would survive or not.

Third: the situation today is such that the legislation offers a sufficient amount of freedom for economic experimentation and implementation of various new projects. Yet the regulations issued by departments or so-called legal acts for the development of such new projects reduce such freedom to purely symbolic dimensions. The autonomy guaranteed by the law disappears in the flood of instructions, explanations, regulations, recommendations and prohibitions. It is among them that, without violating the laws, the fund's activists must maneuver. The rules of internal cost accounting are inviolable and strict. However, they are also flexible: if according to an instruction a checking account cannot be opened by a club, a personal account can be. An account is extremely necessary if one is to compare income with expenditures and prove to opponents, with the help of bookkeeping records, the legitimacy of various material demands and incentives. In this case the work of the bookkeeper is complex. Even the new regulation on amateur associations and hobby clubs, which provides extensive opportunities for the development of initiatives, leaves many problems unsolved. It clearly stipulates what is allowed, but not how to do it. In this case everything depends on the level of the professional knowledge, experience and competence of the bookkeeper. He has a large number of items he must control. The youth initiative fund has the statutory right of opening workshops, leasing premises, engaging in publishing activities, sponsoring festivals, etc. In all areas of its activities it intersects with the activities of many state and public organizations.

We anticipate the question: Well, that is good, the fund has been set up, but why does it need autonomy, a separate bank account and all the rest? Would it not be better or simpler to set up a respective commission under the Komsomol gorkom or gorispolkom, which would coordinate the efforts of the numerous departments which have funds, sometimes even substantial funds! Let us take as an example our trade unions which sometimes simply do not know how to spend their money. Nowhere else in the world is there a trade union fund which could pay for mass and free trips by its members, such as a 2-day trip from Novosibirsk to Moscow. It is no secret to anyone that occasionally substantial funds are spent merely to help people go on a buying spree in

Moscow. The form has been observed and the funds have been spent on members of the trade union. No attention is paid to the fact that the "Blue Bird" aviation developers laboratory is wasting away for lack of material support, a laboratory which is engaged in designing one-of-a-kind flight engines, for this is an orphan laboratory!

But there should be no such orphan projects in our country! In the past Dzerzhinskiy saved the orphan children for the country; who will save today initiators, who are innumerable, but are not part of existing departmental structures? Obviously, this cannot be accomplished by a single powerless commission which would simply perish in the course of endless coordinations when it comes to spending a ruble. The beautiful term "coordination" will conceal in this case the latest bureaucratic utopia, the most terrible of all types of utopias, in which the focal point is not interest but attaining an unrealistic and inaccessible objective concocted in an office. It is no accident that Lenin's last works dealt so extensively with thoughts on the nature of bureaucratic utopias.

The creators of the fund have had to listen to a great deal of advice from people who never created anything in life themselves but were able to say beautiful words on lofty objectives, on the fact that everyone must mandatorily work for the "great common cause." Why support some kind of initiative, they say, and then, all of the sudden, there is abuse? For the past 7 (!) years "Terpsikhora" has been cautioned against such abuses. With a persistence worthy of better use, the Ministry of Finance bombarded with orders the chief controller-auditor of the Ministry of Finance in Novosibirsk: to audit and close down this society of amateurs of choreography. Three audits yielded no results. Let us hope that this will calm down the vigilant personnel of the Ministry of Finance. But then, who knows....

Yet another argument is being cited in opposition to the fund: Why is an alternative structure needed? For it could "take the bread away" from the Philharmonic Orchestra and the houses of culture (many of which are idling, as it were!), the sport stadiums (which too are not crowded with lovers of physical culture), etc. In our view, such objections are the most obvious models of bureaucratic thinking, which shuns concepts of extensive and public competitiveness among ideas, projects and finished goods, and has become accustomed to departmental monopoly in everything, from bread to circuses. Today, in all areas of our social life without exception, we feel with increased urgency the need for a real competitive approach to projects. This right must be mandatorily granted to people in the organization of their leisure time. Naturally, competitiveness is not the purpose of social activities, including those of the fund. The main thing is to provide that which the people need today. Let them determine if a project of interest to them is presented in a better and more attractive way. As a juridical person, the fund can cooperate with those same sports stadiums, palaces of culture, clubs and parks not as a poor petitioner but as a full partner. This will create material obligations but, if necessary, could call for the satisfaction of such needs. This would firmly keep the partners in line.

Finally, it is only autonomy that awakens initiative. This was most clearly stated at the 27th Party Congress. The fund offers many examples in this

area. In the first 3 months it did not remain idle a single day. It began with promoting acquaintanceship with clubs and associations in the city, which provided real opportunity for participating in a great variety of leisure time projects, from skiing to ballet, from classical dancing to amateur singing and theater and jazz evenings. In the course of such abundant meetings and impressions created as a result of contacts among different creative displays, the sparks of new initiatives flew and striking conglomerates of attractions and interests arose, which would have never appeared under different circumstances. Having appeared, however, friendly relations strengthened and developed. Thus, folklore ensembles--collective fund members--participated in the ski carnival of the Sibiryak Club. This made a fabulous impression! Constant creative meetings, theater performances, performances by youth groups, exhibits, are all aspects of today's life of the fund.

The possibilities of this fund are tremendous. What are the future trends in its activities? It intends actively to participate in the development of the social sphere. For example, it is planning the designing, manufacturing and marketing of consumer goods which are in great demand by the population. Nor has the fund ignored consumer services. It intends to develop a system of "its own" enterprises, such as coffee shops, cafeterias, pastry shops, pirozhki shops, etc. Scientific and application groups will be set up, working with enterprises and organizations on the basis of economic contracts, including combined brigades for designing and building in the countryside. The Komsomol firm offering services to the population will assume the duties of apartment cleaning, flower purchasing, leasing, organizing evening kindergartens and television and radio broadcasting studios. It will start a public bureau for the employment of students, etc.

The fund's cultural activities are based on cost accounting theatre groups, studios, a music center-laboratory for sound recording, a center-laboratory for the development of lighting and theatre devices; paid courses for foreign language, communications, family education, medical knowledge (learning the fundamentals of massage, use of medicinal herbs, oriental therapy, breathing exercises and other studies).

The fund will assume the landscaping of urban pedestrian areas based on contracts; it will organize summer labor, creative, sports and arts camps and specialized camps for mountain skiing, wind surfing, gliding, tennis, and others, on a cost accounting basis; paid courses for organizers and administrators of recreational activities. The fund members are brimming with resolve to continue actively to participate in the restoration of monuments, the reconstruction of the human habitat, whether it is an urban residential district, rural street or natural landscape.

Above all, no single fund initiative exists for its own sake. All of them reciprocally enrich one another and all of them together create the type of intellectual background which is a catalyst for the free development of the individual, for the development of the truly "complete person" of whom the great philosophers of the past dreamed, the person who would know all and be able to do all such as, for example, read Shakespeare in the original and practice wind surfing....

Marx and Engels spoke of the new society as an association in which the free development of one is a prerequisite for the free development of all. In analyzing the ways of building socialism in our country, Lenin proved, among others, that the development of cooperation is identical to that of socialism. The youth initiative fund is developing the creative activeness of the young builders of communism, increasing their interest and coordinating their aspirations aimed at perfecting the individual. We deeply believe that all of this will enable us, as is demanded by the party documents, significantly to increase the attention paid to youth social problems and, above all, to the development and fuller satisfaction of socially significant interests and needs of boys and girls in life, work, organization, culture and sensible utilization of the leisure time.

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WALL PRESS: POSITION IN THE RANKS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 86 (signed to press 9 Dec 86) pp 40-41

[Letter to the editors by Ya. Parkhomovskiy, doctor of technical sciences, professor, laureate of the USSR State Prize]

[Text] In my opinion, the renovation of all areas of life of our society, the development of self-government and the broadening of openness urgently require the significant enhancement of the role of the wall press.

It would be no exaggeration in the least to say that the wall press is a tremendous power. According to the Soviet Encyclopedic Dictionary (Moscow, 1983), in 1980 the country had about 2 million wall newspapers, which means an average of 75 to 100 potential readers each. Not even the smallest unit in our society is without a wall newspaper, which is commendable.

However, is the benefit of such millions of newspapers tangible? How efficient are they? How much do they help our progress today, when the country is living with the ideas of the 27th Congress? In my observations, the wall press has still not come up to the level of the problems it must solve. Frequently wall newspapers are, alas, part of the furniture.

Why is this? I believe, above all, it is due to the periodical nature of the issues. A "standard" here is as follows: three to four issues per year: on New Year, followed by a "double" issue on the occasion of May Day and Victory Day and an issue on the occasion of the October Revolution. Rarely is another issue published on a special occasion. This, at least, has been the situation in the 20 or 30 different organizations I have had the opportunity to visit as part of my job.

Obviously, with an average "life span" of an issue of 3 to 4 months, such a newspaper cannot be efficient. It contains nothing new. It does not trigger any interest even a few days after excellent issue has come out. In addition to an insignificant information-propaganda effect, there are material losses. I have estimated that the annual publication of wall newspapers requires some 6 million sheets of scarce Whatman paper and five times more standard writing paper. Huge amounts of paint, photographic materials, etc., are used. Assuming that each issue requires an average of about 6 hours, in the course 1 year about 36 million hours of essentially working time are spent! This is

the equivalent of the work of three large plants, employing 5,000 people each, doing an equivalent amount of work.

Could it be, therefore, that we do not need a wall press? Could it be that it is obsolete and that it has been replaced by other mass information media?

I am convinced that such is not the case! What follows from what I have said is that the old approach to the wall press must be firmly abandoned. New life must be instilled into the wall newspaper in order to turn it into an efficient tool of the restructuring.

The wall press must be informative, efficient and combative. In its present form not one of these three elements is properly applied. The newspaper is uninteresting because it is inefficient, its news value is obsolete from the start; it is not informative, for it does not discuss local problems; it is not combative, for it fears to "take the skeleton out of the closet." A radical improvement in the situation is possible, in my view, if the following steps are taken.

Above all, the wall press must become one of the basic units in the mass agitation work of any party organization and considered as important as political education. Obviously, a member of the party buro should assume personal responsibility for its publication. Particular attention should be paid to the choice of editors. I believe that open party meetings should be held at which the work of the wall press should be discussed. Frankly speaking, I personally do not recall the holding of a single such meeting in the past 20 or 30 years. Competitions and reviews of wall newspapers, providing information on their results, could enhance their work.

Interest in wall newspapers depends above all, naturally, on its content. Numerous opportunities exist in this area. Any collective, in addition to national interest, has its own strictly "local topics." They interest the people and are energetically discussed during "smoke breaks." "Local topics" are a literally virgin land. I consider them to be the main target of the wall press.

This involves all aspects of production activities with their accomplishments and shortcomings, the struggle against slovenliness and drunkenness, way of life, etc. Why not write about a silver or golden wedding anniversary, a joint trip or a tourist march, a pioneer camp and school successes of the children? Why not allow the "local" writers and poets to publish, conduct interviews with war and labor veterans and investors? Everywhere one can find topics of interest which closely affect people who work together.

In order for the newspaper to be efficient and constantly updated, so to say, it is not mandatory in the least to produce it on a weekly basis. Suffice it to update some of its sections. A note may be updated each 2 or 3 days, another one, already "obsolete," after a week, etc. The newspaper must be alive, an effective source of information. Clearly, the steady updating of the content is impossible without active contributors. It is primarily the editors who must encourage them to write.

To make a newspaper combative is by no means a simple task. However, it is exceptionally topical. With a truly combative wall press, a number of problems could be successfully solved on-site. I believe that a special section should be introduced entitled "They Are Answering Us" in order to upgrade the combativeness of the wall newspaper, which would include the answers of officials to critical remarks. It would be difficult to hide behind general loose statements in "one's own" newspaper. In this case the people would expect a specific and fast answer for which, incidentally, deadlines could be set.

Finally, training should be organized for editors of wall newspapers and, in general, the "big" press should start sponsoring wall newspapers. Systematic surveys of the wall press would be useful, even if conducted by the local newspapers; newspaper personnel should visit enterprises and publish special issues based on local materials. The wall newspapers could also publish some of the letter to the editors of journals and newspapers. In general, closer ties must be established between the "small" and "big" press.

Wall newspapers are an important link in the party's ideological and educational work. We must firmly eliminate the formalistic approach toward them and make this weapon efficient. In this case, unquestionably, the initiative of the primary party organizations should be approved and supported.

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TRUTH IS THE CRITERION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 86 (signed to press 9 Dec 86) pp 41-42

[Letter to the editors by G. Grebennik, senior instructor, Department of CPSU History, Odessa State University]

[Text] In my opinion, major steps must be taken in developing party history science, eliminating the routine which has accumulated here and steadily asserting the principles of historical truth. The CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Journal KOMMUNIST" draws attention to the need to intensify party and social ideological life and to create favorable conditions for daring scientific research, initiative-minded formulation of new problems and their free comradely discussion. Unfortunately, in my view, to this day the organizational conditions, approaches, traditions and stereotypes which have developed in the social sciences and remain within them are such as to block the path of new ideas and to freeze them. I had the opportunity to realize this yet once again after talking with my colleagues, young historians from various scientific centers in the country, who attended the all-union course for historians held in Zvenigorod, in September 1986.

In order to implement the tasks assigned to us by the party we, historians, must seriously reorganize our entire scientific structure. The existing tradition of studying and summoning up exclusively the positive experience of party work causes great harm to theoretical and practical ideological and educational activities. One aspect of a contradiction is analyzed, thus laying, from the very beginning, a strong base for subjectivism; as a rule, shortcomings and problems are merely enumerated, a "list" of such items being duplicated from one article or monograph to another. It is thus that we deprive ourselves of the opportunity of truly understanding and assessing our party's historical experience and the objective logic of its development.

For example, I know of extremely few works on historical topics, whose authors have attempted, using specific data, to bring to light the unity and struggle of opposites, such as the dialectics between revolution and counterrevolution, for example. We know that no single revolution exists or could exist without a counterrevolution. The entire development of the revolution takes place through struggle and, therefore, interaction with counterrevolution. In the majority of cases, in our country this history of the revolution is written and read as a topic separate from the history of the counterrevolution.

In general, we must acknowledge that the dialectical style of thinking has still not become characteristic of the so-called "pure" historians. I believe that this indicates a certain departure from Lenin's methodology of party history. At the very beginning of his revolutionary activities, V.I. Lenin was convinced that "not only oats grow according to Hegel's law; the Russian social democrats also fight among themselves according to Hegel" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 8, p 400). A profound study of specific historical reality is simply impossible without the use of the dialectical method. This seemingly unquestionable concept is being questioned by the very practice of the way works on history are being written. We, young people, are frequently being accused of lack of theoretical depth. How to attain such depth when "attraction for philosophy" is considered by some scientific leaders as being just about the main "sin?!"

The structural components of Marxist-Leninist science have broadened and become complex multi-tiered systems of knowledge. In order to show progress, our synthesis must be made on a qualitatively new methodological level. Here as well we have a conflict between those who are seeking new approaches to the study of the party's historical experience and the supporters of the traditional view on the problems of the party history and its unjustified curtailment. All such people can do is to roar that "this is not a party-history aspect!" and all debates become impossible. It is thus that the development of party history science is being obstructed.

Naturally, the existing situation is not entirely the fault of historians. The concept of developed socialism, which dominated during the 70s and the first half of the 1980s, was essentially interpreted in a spirit of denying conflicts within the mature socialist society. This eliminated the possibility of the study of problem situations and negative phenomena in the development of socialism. It was precisely areas of our life which most needed theoretical interpretation that found themselves outside scientific considerations. This narrowed the range of research topics and problems accumulated, the study of which, to say the least, was not recommended to researchers. As a rule, however, it was precisely these problems that were of the greatest interest to students and working people. It is no accident that they are becoming the object of all sorts of speculations on the part of bourgeois historians.

Here is an example. Young scientists at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of USSR History planned to write a book on restructuring efforts, which took place in the mid 1950s and 1960s. As we know, the effort which, as a whole, failed, makes it no less significant today, when under the new historical conditions we must take into consideration all lessons of history. Furthermore, this experience includes a great deal of valuable aspects which could be used today. However, the institute's leadership, as I was told, is still not in a hurry to encourage this initiative.

Enthusiasm for anniversary publications hinders our work a great deal. There is nothing wrong in the fact that historical science becomes more active on the eve of and during the commemoration of memorable events; what is bad is that this in itself assumes the nature of an anniversary. Once again, this leads to curtaining historical truth and to the fact that the lessons of

history which we truly need today are left unattended. That is why I was pleased to read in the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Journal KOMMUNIST" that the experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution must be described comprehensively, "without bypassing errors and omissions." I believe that such problems must be reflected more extensively in this journal.

The truth of history is that, in the final account, individuals and generations receive their proper due. History is the biography of truth. In order for the historian to be worthy of his mission, he must check his work using the criterion of Lenin's truth, truth without exception, truth in everything: thoughts, words, relations and actions.

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DEVELOPING MOTOR VEHICLE SERVICES BY FIRMS

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[Letter to the editors by V. Dazhin, doctor of technical sciences, and A. Makushin, candidate of technical sciences]

[Text] In our opinion, today the historically developed practice of technical repairs and servicing of private automotive vehicles, according to which such work is essentially the concern of the consumer himself, has become totally obsolete.

Not even mentioning the social problems which arise here, related to wasting the leisure time of the working people and their substantial monetary outlays, primitive methods applied in repairs and servicing drastically lower the useful life of cars and the efficiency of their use.

The situation with trucks, the servicing and repairs of which are also largely the problem of the organizations using them, is similar.

The natural solution of this problem is the development of a respective area in the socialized economy, a system of company service.

For the first time, such services were undertaken by the AvtoVAZ Production Association. The "AvtoVAZ technical servicing" system meets a significant portion of the needs of individual car owners for technical services and repairs, particularly during the period covered by the guarantee. This largely explains the increased demand for the production of this plant on the Volga. However, here as well the question of the small handling capacity of technical servicing stations is grave; many spare parts are in short supply. As to trucks, starting with 1977, the Kama Association has supplied enterprises with spare parts and repaired assemblies through a network of automotive centers of the Spare Parts Administration. In 1983 the latter was reorganized into the KamaAZavtotstentr Production Firm. In the future, the firm will ensure the highly efficient work of millions of large-capacity trucks, for increasing the runs of such a large number of trucks by no more than a thousand kilometers per year would save the national economy as much as 500 million rubles. However, it is not only high economic efficiency that the state has the right to expect of the firm. The firm should establish the essential means through which firm servicing will be developed in our country.

The system's material base consists of 177 automotive centers and 16 branches and a plant for the mass repair of KamAZ Motor Vehicle Assemblies in Brezhnev City. The planned capacity of this plant will be 100,000 engines and 50,000 sets of other vehicle assemblies annually.

Estimates have indicated that if the firm, together with the enterprises operating the trucks, would be able, as a result of high quality servicing, to extend the annual run of the trucks to 50,000 kilometers, pre-repair engine life to 250,000 and the life of machine units to 350,000 kilometers and a corresponding post-repair run attaining 80 percent of efficiency, the shortage of rolling stock could decline by 1 million motor vehicles. In this case the need for capital repairs of all units would be totally met by the head plant. If the firm is unable to master the situation and if the ratios of trucks run by associations without firm services remain, the country's national economy would require an additional 1,670,000 KamAZ trucks. This will respectively increase the need for capital repairs, which will result in national economic losses in excess of 8 billion rubles annually. Furthermore, it will require the additional employment of approximately 1.4 million people as drivers, repair workers and servicing personnel. The unavoidable conclusion is that the efficient running of most common trucks can be achieved only on an industrial basis. This would ensure full timely technical servicing and high-quality repairs.

The proper conditions for such repairs can be created only at large motor vehicle enterprises operating 200 or more KamAZ vehicles. Currently the average number of vehicles operated by truck enterprises is fewer than 10.

Practical life urgently calls for strengthening the production and technical base of firm motor vehicle centers. Yet, virtually all of them have been set up on leased areas and are so small that there cannot even be a question of providing operational-repair services and modern technical aid. The building of their own premises on a contractual basis is taking place extremely slowly. This, we believe, confirms the insufficient attention which the local party and economic authorities pay to the problems solved by this firm.

The situation today looks as follows: in terms of comprehensiveness and volume technical services are unsatisfactory for 70 percent of the vehicles; 56 percent of the vehicles run from 2,000 to 28,000 kilometers between technical servicing; 76 percent of the engines are lubricated with dirty oil. Consequently, even in automotive enterprises for public use the average life of an engine does not exceed 200,000 kilometers. All of this naturally increases the need for repairs. The firm has already taken over the Kustanay and the Khanzhenskoy engine-repair plants. Furthermore, the firm repairs automotive parts of 47 departmental enterprises which use backward technology in small-series production, which cannot provide the necessary quality of repairs.

Taking into consideration the essentially important significance of the experience gained by the KamAZavtotstentr firm to the country's national economy, we can note the existence of a number of unsolved problems in terms of availability of contemporary technological and diagnostic equipment and

computers. Unfortunately, to this day no one knows when such difficult problems can be solved.

Let us point out that the firm is not equipped with adequate high-quality technical documentation, technical specifications and standards which would guarantee high-quality of current and capital repairs. At the present time, all such documentation is handled by design departments. However, there are no design methods which would ensure the solution of such problems! This leads to major errors in setting substantiated standards, and inevitably the accuracy of estimates concerning the use of spare parts suffers! We believe that this problem should be solved on the basis of the theory of reliability which uses suitable methods. This would require the use of scientific research institutes and various VUZs.

Particular attention should be paid to the problem of spare parts, the solution of which will largely determine the future of the firm's facilities. This problem has two aspects: the scarcity of some parts leads to substantial idling of motor vehicles and requires the use of significant material facilities for the inefficient manufacturing or rebuilding of parts, forcing officials to look for such parts instead of doing their jobs. The overproduction of other parts leads to the fact that the warehouses of automotive centers and enterprises bulge with unsalable items.

The most important aspect of the problem is that the use of spare parts is to a large extent a random process whereas planning is based on strict standards. Considering the unpredictability of the dynamics of demand, we must have not only standards but guaranteed stocks, which is totally ignored in the existing planning system.

The system for planning the production and allocation of spare parts, we believe, should be based on actual demand. An economic mechanism which, on the one hand, would make machine building associations interested in meeting consumer requests and, on the other, would make it possible for the consumers to ensure the maximal utilization of the parts, must become an inseparable part of such a system.

The future favors a system of servicing by a firm. Unquestionably, this is the path which will be followed by AvtoZIL and AvtoGAZ, the Volgograd and Minsk tractors plants, the tractor plant in Yelabuga and other machine building associations. The speed and efficiency with which this transition will take place greatly depends on our work today, on the real help which will be given to the KamaAZavtotseentr Production Firm.

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EDUCATION OF THE CITIZEN

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[Article by I. Ovchinnikova]

[Text] Let us imagine that sociologists have conducted a union-wide survey on the exclusive problem of the qualities which we would like to develop in our children. Unquestionably, almost first here would be civic valor, civic activeness. The highest points would go precisely to this personality feature, on which both professional educators and parents would agree. This is easy to understand, for those who are today either educators or parents have all been exposed in their childhood to the Pioneer unit, and went through the Komsomol during their adolescence and youth. The children who wore the Pioneer kerchief in the 1930s have already become grandfathers and grandmothers. A fourth generation which absorbed with its mother's milk the ideals of the October Revolution, is growing up.

Does this mean, however, that a corresponding system of thoughts and ways of behavior develop as though by themselves? Or that problems which are encountered by today's tutors of young people, to use lofty words, are simpler than those which had to be solved during Makarenko's time, for example? The reader will probably consider the question rhetorical, for the answer is already known: paradoxical though it might seem, the human material with which the educator of the 1980s deals is much less malleable and frequently requires methods which we have not experienced and which we, adults, must learn and change as we go along, abandoning the customary concepts developed during our own childhood and adolescence.

Actually, what does an active civic stance mean, something which we welcome and encourage in all possible ways? Are these simply words? In fact we encourage only the type of activeness which may fit within strictly demarcated limits. We consider as socially active a child, an adolescent, a young person if he is always ready at a meeting to deliver a speech which has been at best checked and approved by the adult educator and, at worst, written by that same adult from beginning to end. The obedient person will not muddy up the waters. He is easy to manage and these are the main features of a character which, strange though it might seem, are recorded as an asset of the growing person in the worn-out cliches of character references.

Gradually, the children become accustomed to the fact that activeness and civic behavior are, essentially, big words and not actions which, albeit quite silent remain, nevertheless, actions.

Is this type of educational postulate voiced? Naturally, it is not. An educator at the beginning of his career may not even remember the beautiful poetic line on the impeccable action which must be learned by his students, an action which, precisely, is the objective of civic education, but all of this is, once again, words, words and more words. These are words which keep being repeated in all sorts of tests. Clashing with reality, they are most frequently immediately forgotten.

I recall something which took place not so long ago. Ninth graders in a Moscow school decided to produce a handwritten journal. This was not a particularly new idea, for more than one generation has been raised with such efforts. Journals have been published by high school students and boarding-school students at Moscow University and such amateur publications, consisting of a single copy, could be found in virtually all pre-revolutionary high schools, not to mention schools during the Soviet period. For example, my generation could not imagine life without such a publication in which one could read stories and poems written in beautiful calligraphy, and even serials. Did we show our works to the teachers? We did. We showed them to teachers whose view on our creative works we found interesting. Could such teachers come out with a harsh opinion? Unquestionably, yes. However, this was merely the reason for a merciless judgment we passed on ourselves and not in the least the reason for a thunderous condemnation or even expulsion from the Komsomol.

That is precisely what happened with the ninth graders I mentioned. Having found in the possession of one of them sheets with printed (typewritten) poems and prose, the school principal did not sponsor a critical review of errors in grammar or the poverty of some works, something which, if not quite proper, would have been explainable. She simply took away the hand-stitched notebook and, without reading it (!) tore it up.

This was followed by an official investigation to identify the culprits. The culprits came forth by themselves. They did not find anything prejudicial in their actions. "My father told me that when he was my age he was the editor of such a journal," one of them explained. Is it astounding that the father's experience seemed attractive to the son: the father was a noted journalist and a long-term party member. How mistaken the children were and how strictly punished they were for their naivete! Matters did not go all the way to expelling them from the Komsomol, for the advice of the party raykom was not to inflate the importance of this story. However, the character references of the children were such that one could only be amazed at the possibility that such pedagogical denseness could exist.

One could say with full confidence that a person who has tasted such poison in his youth is doomed to become civically amorphous. In his presence you may violate technological discipline, insult the weak and blame the innocent. He has firmly accepted the formula that "whatever may happen it is not our business," and will profess it for the rest of his life.

At one point I had the occasion to write about a young girl attending medical school. She stood up to the school leadership in defense of a slandered favorite teacher. She testified in favor of that teacher in court; nor did she retreat when, literally on the eve of defending her diploma, she was transferred from the group where she had been studied for nearly 4 years, into another. The rayon and oblast chiefs tried to set her on the true path but she firmly defended her ideas. Frightened classmates abandoned her, for the moment of job assignments was approaching and they were told to watch out. She despaired, however, only when she saw that all her efforts were in vain: the teacher was expelled from the school, under a heap of dirt.

The girl described all of this 1 year later, when the events had already been forgotten and she, personally, was working in a small rural hospital, far from Vologda, where she had studied. She wrote that the firm conviction she had developed from her experience was that one should not interfere in other people's affairs, for you cannot help the other person and can only bring trouble to yourself. Now she had resolved to live differently: whatever may happen in the hospital where she works as a nurse, she has decided to do her work honestly (naturally, as much as possible) and pay attention to nothing else.

I know of another similar case. Judging by all available information, the boy was quite talented. As a child he had distinguished himself by inventing a kind of attachment to a combine which lowered grain losses several hundred percent. At that time his picture was published in the central press. However, the bonus was given and a patent issued to someone else.

The boy felt insulted and left the sovkhoz. The opportunity appeared of finding a job in a big construction project in Moscow. The building of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium was under construction (to this day unfinished), and the boy found a job with Tsentrakademstroy. What happened? They would build a wall today, tomorrow it would turn out that it was in the wrong place and that same wall would be pulled down with air hammers. They would pour concrete today and it would become clear tomorrow that this was unnecessary. This occurred a number of times. The boy tried to raise his voice: What was happening? This was a mockery and waste not only of materials or time but, which is even more important, of consciousness and morality. It teaches the working person to believe that there is no difference between building and wrecking: one way or another, the salary will be paid and anything else is nobody's business. The people laughed and taunted him. Let the bosses think, they said.

The boy left the construction project. He hired himself out as a guard in a cooperative dacha and worked as a carpenter during his spare time. His work was striking. The fact was that his talent had not become entirely wasted but to say that this person would fight today for what he believes in would be untrue. In addition to everything else, he had become accustomed to earning big money, something which cannot be earned under ordinary circumstances. This, however, is a different subject. What matters is this: if civic passion and civic concern are rejected, the person concentrates exclusively on what is within his reach. Naturally, at this point we remember Leo Tolstoy's favorite thought that if everyone would clean the area in front of his own

door, everything would be clean. I recently recalled this story in working on a complaint voiced by a young woman who is organically unable to tolerate any kind of disorder. She literally floods all agencies with letters and each line in those letters tells the truth. Her anger is just. Yet, there was something in the behavior of this woman, in the way she thought, that was irritating. I told her: "Would it not be better to follow the familiar advice and to mind your own business. You would certainly have enough to do." She could clean in front of her own door. She looked at me and quietly said: "And who would care for a place belonging to no one?"

This was quite a serious consideration! All it proved was how important it is to show a feeling of moderation when it is a question of upbringing and shaping a civic feeling. For such a feeling begins within the person at an early age, when the person is most sincere, when he does not as yet take into consideration the possible consequences of words and actions, when the person frankly says what he thinks and means what he says, and when the need for justice is extremely strong.

How can we handle such malleable and lofty human material? Everything here is risky: one type of attitude may lead to an obedient and quiet person, concerned exclusively with his own tranquillity and well-being. The opposite may lead to the development of a bawler, a demagogue, always ready to shout "hold the thief!", while pursuing his own pursuits. A third danger exists: that of raising a person who develops a double personality: he is strict toward others; he preaches morality but is ready to forgive himself any violation of the rule in minor and, alas, major matters.

Any thinking educator would consider it, in general, easy to impart a critical feeling to the mind of the child. Bad things become obvious and looking around us we see piles of rubbish. The entire problem is how to look and, above all, having looked, what to do? This equally applies to major as well as minor, ordinary circumstances. One could send letters to all sorts of authorities on the subject that the water tap in the garden is leaking. One could also take a wrench and simply tighten the valve up. This is a familiar problem.

At one point I met with a school principal, a graduate of Moscow University. It was the dictates of his conscience that had sent him to the boondocks. What there was in that village could not be described as a school. It was a crumbling hut built under the zemstvo administration. Naturally, one could become depressed and one could start sending letters to the oblast and the capital. He, however, small and frail, totally unused to hard physical work, started to build a school, with his own hands, together with the other teachers (most of them women, as is the situation everywhere else). It was only then that the fellow-villagers joined, having seen the way this young principal himself was struggling. They allocated a plot for the school and there he was, cutting, hauling, building.

Well, some one may say, naturally, this is praiseworthy but not always possible. It may be necessary to shout for help, to stir up public opinion. All of us today are bitterly interpreting the recent past and asking ourselves: How come tremendous accomplishments become to be possible, and why

are they published in the press with great delays? What about the cases of trade in Moscow, of Uzbek cotton and Moldavian figure-padding? Did they spring out of thin air? Someone was there, seeing everything, hearing everything and keeping away from it all. Was he blameless? No, he was not.

Naturally, the claim that each one of us is responsible for everything taking place around him smacks of maximalism. On the other hand, however, the position of an observer who can see everything sitting in his own corner but keeps silent, waiting to see how things will end, is equally unattractive and we now know where it could lead us.

Therefore, we do want to educate people willing to interfere, to redo, to repaint or, in a word, to act. Is this so? But then how to explain the storm of indignation caused by the television show "The Twelfth Floor?" After the first episodes, the editors of newspapers, particularly those which, like IZVESTIYA, where I work, had favorably commented on the show, were drowned in feelings of indignation.

What was it that the people disliked the most or, to say the least, what disturbed them the most? On this point the viewers were virtually unanimous: What business did the children have listening? Should they become involved in discussions conducted by adults, even if such discussions have to do with the children, with their leisure time and their attitudes toward fathers, mothers and educators? They have not earned the right to condemn or even to discuss anyone. Is it normal for honorable people, holding high positions, to explain things to adolescents (some of the letters used the sharper expression young oafs), or to justify themselves to them? Is it proper to make advances to young people? Should we instill in them the idea that they have the right to speak out alongside those who have become wisened by life? Generally speaking, adults must not explain their relations to children. Our generation (i.e., the senior generation) was raised with this rule, for which reason one is not allowed to display familiarity with ministers or their deputies. We were taught to keep our distance in our relations with adults and this was proper.

This was an example of the objections voiced. Some of them appeared sensible. However, this particular view was superficial and let me immediately say that I do not share it. What precisely touched and pleased me in the telecast was the fact that people who had achieved a good position and school students who has no "position" whatsoever, i.e., who were "nobodies," finally were given the opportunity to discuss something which concerned them, without restraint and after lifting the age barrier.

Actually, when precisely is the time when we could say about a person that he has gained the legitimate right to have his own judgment? Incidentally, those who are denied such right look at us with a grin: keep trying to educate me while I look at you and see what you accomplish. We keep offering him tasty meals, games and trips and all sorts of entertainment and he keeps pouting. He likes nothing.

By refusing adolescents the right to be heard and listened to we cultivate that same lack of responsibility and consumerism which enrages us when we see

it in our children. But then how can an adolescent, not even 15-years old, make a most important decision of a professional choice with the help of our efforts, which are actually doomed to failure, when it is we who decide what young people should read, how they should dance, what they should sing and what they should wear?

How, for example, to combine the demand of participating in the productive work of adults considering the widespread practice according to which adolescents have no right to handle their own earnings? I recently had the occasion to visit a training-production combine. It was quite a decent and by no means the worst school and it was probably not an accident that it had been selected for a visit by a journalist. I was taken to the mess hall where the tables were being set for lunch. I was told that the children pay for their meals with money they have earned themselves. I asked: Did you ask them whether they want to spend their earnings on food? They may prefer to bring a sandwich from home and save their money to buy a gift for mother or a tape recorder or a new pair of jeans? "Well, you know," the principal of the training-production combine said, openly amazed, "if we give them this right, what will happen next?" What will happen is, I think, would be applying the full standard, the same standard which you and I use: our superiors do not dictate to us how to spend our earnings.

Children, adolescents in particular, vitally need an adult who knows how to talk to them in their own language, an adult who can respect even what he does not understand. It is precisely such an adult who can channel the energy which inevitably accumulates in a growing person in a direction which will lead to civic maturity. If the words and, above all, the actions of this adult are imbued with civic concern, if they are not faked, if the adult truly works for the good of the fatherland, the children will trust and follow him.

Let me cite as proof something which happened not even a full year ago. Last winter an unusually heavy amount of snow fell on Moscow. This took place during the night, and the school principal, looking through the window, decided that neither students, not to mention the older teachers, would be able to reach the school. Who should he inform? The respective rayon or city institutions? To begin with, they do not work nights. The principal decided to use this situation for educational purposes. In a series of chain calls (it was 3:00 am) he rang up the seniors and for the rest of the night he, with them, cleared from the snow the access roads to the school. Naturally, there is nothing heroic in this. What it was, however, was a test of readiness not to blabber but to act, to do what must be done and when it must be done. The parents, who were at first displeased by the night alarm, having heard the stories of their excited sons and daughters, expressed not anger but admiration.

It is thus that an adult who knows how to lead is the first and mandatory prerequisite for civic education. We would naturally twist the truth by saying that such a person can be found in any school and that this skill is taught in education institutes. No, the talent to address children and adolescents in such a way that they can truly understand and trust, is encountered, sadly, with increasing rarity. Why? Because the sad experience of those who have such a talent does not encourage others to emulate them.

I had recently the occasion to write about this and I recalled the names of those who were described in the newspapers as commissars for children, those who were able to influence even the most stubborn, the most difficult boys and girls. They are few and every single one of them has had a dramatic life in the full meaning of the term. In their time, not only were Yevgeniy Volkov in Tula and Anatoliy Garmayev in Moscow not appreciated but, for many years to come, their example discouraged young educators to follow in their footsteps.

Today times and mores are different. However, the need remains to prevent anyone from destroying, banishing or chasing off anything which took years to create. What are needed today are the right to try and, sometimes, to err (how can we not?), the right to follow a virgin path, the right to judge solely on the basis of accomplishments, so that new people like Volkov and Garmayev may appear, bearers of this lofty civic idea without which upbringing, total dedication and readiness to do anything for the sake of an idea would be inconceivable.

Such people are needed today more than ever. Why? We are frequently told that all of our troubles with education are exclusively due to oversaturation. It is claimed that in our case the adults were not all that concerned, no one educated us yet we grew up and matured and did our work. This is indeed so. People must be tempered and educated, not the way we sometimes imagine it, but it must be done. When people are concerned with earning their daily bread they do not worry about being suitably dressed for the prom. Yes, life has taught us a great deal such as, for example, to share the last bit of bread with others.

But what follows from this? Do we wish to go back to those long ago times, when a room in a communal apartment was our utmost dream and when clothing would not be threadbare? I believe that no one among us, who experienced that, would like to see it repeated with our children and grandchildren. If such is the case, we must learn how to raise children under circumstances which are different, circumstances of total sufficiency without, however, allowing such circumstances to govern us instead of vice-versa.

What are we discussing? We are discussing something strange that is taking place. When we needed a piece of bread in order not to die of hunger and shoes in order not to walk barefoot, or fabric to cover our nakedness, our fathers and mothers were much less concerned than we were with the lack of one fashionable accessory or another. Naturally, this too was a temporary phenomenon caused by the unusual circumstance. Generally speaking, our generation was familiar neither with the hunger nor the need experienced by the generation before ours. That is precisely why we find it more difficult to raise our children. From virtually the time of their birth, they have been hearing us discuss most frequently problems of food. We do not stand in line for bread but for delicacies. We do not travel around the city for a piece of clothing, in the direct meaning of the term, but for finery which is desired today and becomes ridiculous and totally unwearable tomorrow. These are concerns of ours which harm the children.

It is useful for the children to see and feel that their parents have spiritual needs, that they are agitated by major problems which affect all of

us together and each one of us separately. Should they fail to notice such a spiritual thirst in us, wherefrom would they develop it? We fear their down-to-earthness, a certain lack of passion and early disappointments. The reasons, however, should be sought within us.

We recently saw another cycle of broadcasts which, in their time, we cheered: "Test for Adults." Why is it that now, 8 years later, when the small characters are 15-year old, both adults and children find the programs boring? Where did the tension with which we looked at the faces of the little children go? Why do we find it embarrassing to listen to our children, who have now grown up, while they ponder over leading questions, while we are sad and embittered by the fact that they have not justified expectations as we compare them with ourselves as we were? Actually, there was a time when I was quite concerned: it turns out that the children are unable either to recall or name a single adult whose authority would be unquestionable, someone they would like to go to. Even Pavlik, the successful Pavlik, who had already determined his professional future (incidentally, was it not because the path to his future was laid by his father and grandfather?), nevertheless avoided naming specific names.

Where did you and I go wrong? I believe that the word I am using is not too strong, and here is why: recently the mother of a former student of mine, now the grandmother of a ninth grader in a Moscow school, rang me up. The family, she told me, was worked up. Why? It turned out that for 3 full months no course in physics had been taught at the school attended by her grandson, for which reason the children, naturally, fell behind. All of the sudden comes a ministerial (or perhaps city) test. What did the respected educators do? Instead of frankly to explain why their students were not ready for a test, they took from the neighboring school, where the test had taken place an hour earlier, the text with the proper answers and gave it to the ninth graders (both classes) who "passed" successfully.

Naturally, some would find this shameful, other disgusting and others would grin: if you want to survive, cope. Comes the evening, the parents come back from work and at home, where it is the custom to tell one another the events of the day, the case of the test is discussed. Once again some are indignant and angry and would like those who, to call things by their proper names, have corrupted the youngsters, to be strictly punished. However, they are unwilling to sign a letter to this effect. The grandmother who rang me up also requested that the name of her grandson not be mentioned: "You understand, he will graduate next year and what kind of character reference would he get?"

Oh, these references!... It is true that no stronger and, frankly, more harmful tool for pacification could be invented. It works impeccably in the case of youngsters who are planning their lives, and for their parents: let the youngster not muddy up the waters and his character reference will say that he is active socially and enjoys the respect of his comrades. Try even once to raise your voice, whatever the occasion and quite unflattering descriptions will be found about you. Like it or not, you must hold your tongue.

But let us stop and think: Who are we raising? Above all, what type of person do we like to raise? The type of person by whose fault the terrible Chernobyl tragedy took place? The type of person who signed a document accepting a building the roof of which was made of flammable materials which were banned 12 years ago? The type of person who did not deem it necessary to announce on the radio that people must be evacuated and where they should go, and because of whom the evacuation took place only 24 hours later? The type of person who indifferently, following instructions from superiors, allowed the shutting off of the emergency system?

The list of such a similar questions could be extended and the answer would be only one: yes, by cultivating total submission, by banning personal judgments, we are shaping a person with a dulled or totally undeveloped civic feeling, a person concerned only with his own well-being and ready to sacrifice everything for its sake, a person who prefers not to notice what is taking place around him in order to safeguard his most precious personal tranquillity.

Today the restructuring, not only of the economy but of the consciousness, the reassessment of values, demands of anyone who, one way or another, at home or at school, influences the molding of a personality, its maturing and tempering, something which is not essentially new but which we simply somewhat thoroughly forgot. We must raise an individual who will serve a cause and not a person, an individual who will obey only the law and who can raise his voice against anyone who violates it. This is not so easy. It demands of us, the adults, a great deal of courage, and a rejection of a great deal of what we had become accustomed for many years. We must remember the legacy of those who were at the origins of Soviet schools and Soviet education, who tirelessly taught the children not flexibility and ability to adapt to circumstances but firmness, loyalty to perfectly defined moral foundations. This will be the contribution of the current generation of adults and, naturally, of professional educators, above all in this truly revolutionary process of cleansing and revival, the contemporaries and participants in which we are lucky to be.

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FROM THE HEIGHT OF THE CAPTAIN'S BRIDGE

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[Article by S. Bystrov, captain first rank]

[Text] The aircraft carrier "Kiev," which is lying out, can be reached only by launch. In answer to my request, knowing that the Yasnitskiy and I were old acquaintances, Captain First Rank A. Stefanov, commander of the aircraft carrier force, suggested that we pay him an unexpected visit. Actually, the only surprise could be my appearance as a correspondent, for the moment the launch had cast off, it was immediately reported to the "Kiev" skipper that a senior commander was on his way to see him.

The bulk of the carrier, standing motionless on the road, rose rapidly over me. It was as though a rock was growing, with its sharp steep side, over which heavily hung the takeoff deck, as though weighing the ship down. Unwittingly, one felt respect for this machine made of steel and the officer who commanded this ship.

The launch smartly approached a small floating jetty, the only way to get aboard the "Kiev." Captain First Rank Yasnitskiy was waiting for us in a recess slightly above the waterline, not far from the watch officer, on the ladder. He saluted and briefly reported to Stefanov on the condition of the ship. As always, he was neat and concentrated. Firmness and willpower, developed after years of service, could be easily seen behind brief gestures and precise speech. He gestured with his hand at the elevator and a minute later, rising through several decks, we found ourselves first in the captain's passageway and then in his cabin. However big the "Kiev" may be, with its hundreds of compartments, tens of kilometers of passageways and thousands of rungs, wherever the ship's captain wants to go, the shortest way has been planned--to the gangway, the bridge, the command center...within seconds. In the navy there is probably no more complex and difficult path than that leading to the command of such a ship....

In the cabin, Yasnitskiy took from the desk a half-filled piece of paper and, smilingly, asked:

"What do you think the captain of the "Kiev" was doing? Actually, do not even try to guess. How to repair the roof of a rural home which I have never seen.

The mother of a seaman asked for help, thinking that I could solve this problem also."

"Well, she was right!" Stefanov said.

"Whatever the case, I had to do it. I work with mail from the parents Saturdays, dealing with various requests."

As I listened to the conversation, I unwittingly thought that Yasnitskiy had always acted the same, whatever his position, totally dedicating himself to the ship, the crew, the seamen. Obviously, this is a natural feature of the Soviet officer but not everyone has this gift. It was developed in Yasnitskiy in the course of his service, from the time he made his choice of a career and entered the Naval Academy. Ever since he received his commission he firmly believed that he would reach the height of the captain's bridge.

All young lieutenants in the navy usually dream of this. However, the captain's bridge needs the whole man. An officer aspiring to reach it must concentrate everything on solving the main problem: that of becoming with his entire being, thought, action and word, a commander, in things big or small.

Initially, the Yasnitskiy family lived with acquaintances. They had no apartment of their own. Even after a son was born, Gennadiy rarely went home. He would meet his wife's eyes--happy or sad--and laugh:

"Where have you seen a lieutenant get frequent shore leave? Wait, let me become commander of a combat unit...."

When he reached that position, he calmed his wife down: "Let me become first officer, I will be my own boss, you can expect me every second day." These, however, were merely promises. The wife of a navy officer must, willy-nilly, become accustomed to long waits. And even after he became first officer on the large missile ship the "Ognevoy" he did not find it easy to go home even while the ship was at the base. There was always something to do, something to arrange....

Yasnitskiy learned sincerely to love the "Ognevoy" during his service on that ship. This was probably because on it he covered thousands of rough miles, frequently faced danger, spent the best years of his youth and experienced a great deal of happy moments although there was also the cold, lack of sleep, stress and yearning for home....

Nothing in this life came to Gennadiy Yasnitskiy accidentally and suddenly. It was only thanks to his dedicated, persistent and enthusiastic work that his talent as an officer was displayed. The commander of one of the ships in the formation referred to him in the following terms: "intelligent and knowledgeable. Quite efficient. He is always concerned with his subordinates and for the good of the work. He always knows what he wants to accomplish and how to accomplish it." This was an expression of sincere respect backed by an acknowledgment of the truly lofty qualities of the seaman.

Senior commanders as well saw Yasnitskiy's capabilities, intelligence and dedication to the navy. He was sent to school. One year later, when he returned, he was introduced to the crew of the "Ognevoy" as the ship's captain. This occurred 7 years after Gennadiy Yasnitskiy made lieutenant.

To dream of commanding and becoming a commander are by no means one and the same. Through personal experience Yasnitskiy realized how much he had to know before he had the right to command. In the ship's statutes the list of the captain's duties covers 24 pages....

He mastered naval knowledge at school, during the service and through steady self-education; he quickly and easily learned things other specialists found very difficult. Starting with his very first ship he tried to learn its features to perfection, although this was incredibly difficult, for this "floating metal" was crowded with the latest technology, such as automated systems, computers, remote control devices, the latest communications and sonar instruments and many, many others.

The ship's captain is responsible for the lives of the people who serve with him, for the degree of their professional knowledge and combat training, their spirit and even their mood.

To command means not simply the ability to issue orders but also to ensure their execution. Yasnitskiy persistently developed close contacts with his subordinates. If they could take a hint, if they could become truly like-minded, it meant that he was a true commander. It was this objective that he pursued with his typical stubbornness.

Once again, his wife did not see him for weeks. Yasnitskiy joked:

"You made a ship's captain out of me. Now be patient...."

On one occasion, the captain-lieutenant heard another officer who had drawn shore duty tell some acquaintances: "I have sailed my entire life and never suspected that one could calmly stay ashore. I wish I had known this earlier!..."

This disturbed Gennadiy. He felt insulted. He went home frowning. He looked at Pashka's grades. This first grader had always earned fives and now, suddenly....

"Pasha, how come you got a three?"

"Daddy," his son looked at him amazed, "how come you don't understand, it is spring time outside!"

Yasnitskiy became confused, not knowing what to say. Pasha pulled him by the sleeve: "It is true, Daddy, look."...

Commanding a ship, he knew a great deal about the meaning of spring: the length of daylight, the tides, water temperature, direction of the winds, the state of the icing--every day he received all information concerning this

spring "in figures." He realized, however, that he had stopped to notice what was ordinary and earthy: a bubbling, singing, dreaming spring which had changed the grades of the boy. Could it be that with his boundless attachment to the ship he had deprived himself of something? Although this was a brief sensation, Yasnitskiy realized that since this had something to do with his command, he would not rest until he could find out all about it.

In the morning, long before the flag was hoisted, the captain-lieutenant was already walking toward the ship. A freezing wind was blowing, some spring that was! Yasnitskiy looked at the moored ships, professionally noticing their condition. He glanced at the silhouette of the "Ognevoy," and felt a warm feeling of happiness. He felt with all his heart that his life was there, and there were the people who trusted him and would follow him to the end....

Six months after he became "Ognevoy's" captain, Captain-Lieutenant Yasnitskiy was awarded the order "For Service to the Homeland in the Armed Forces of the USSR" third class. When the ukase on his award was read at a meeting of the crew, everyone joined in the applause. The seamen stood up. They looked at the captain and applauded for all they were worth. A single moment like this made him realize once and for all that he had chosen the right profession....

A young deputy political officer was appointed under Yasnitskiy. Initially, he was disturbed. Although a political worker, he could not develop a frank intercourse and reciprocal understanding with officers and seamen. The young seamen tried to emulate the commander in everything: they spoke of their ship with the same enthusiasm, unwittingly adopted the captain's mannerisms in their behavior and even had the same type of haircut. The entire crew of the "Ognevoy" began to read memoirs because the captain read them. In a word, they loved their captain. Naturally, Yasnitskiy had merely to ask and the seamen would move mountains.

Eventually, the political officer asked Chief Petty Officer Vasilii Zelenov (a reliable and serious person, who had been a combine operator in Siberia before joining the navy) what, in his view, "drew the seamen" to the captain.

"With him things are simple and calm," the petty officer answered, giving it some thought. "You can talk to him like to your coeval. He knows all of us by name. You could confide in him what you would not tell your friend and you would not dare to deceive the captain even in your mind."

The crew of the "Ognevoy" was the youngest in the force: the average age of the officers was 25. However, with increasing frequency Yasnitskiy was cited as a model. It is true that some officers claimed that Yasnitskiy was simply lucky. That was until something else happened.

For 2 consecutive weeks the ship had been sailing in stormy waters. The sailors were exhausted, cheering themselves up with thoughts of the approaching rest. Eventually, they charted a course back to the base. Unexpectedly, an assignment: an "enemy" submarine had penetrated one of our firing grounds. "Ognevoy" was instructed to locate it.

The search was difficult and exhausting, for the submariners knew their job and skillfully hid themselves. Nevertheless, the submarine was located. Captain-Lieutenant Yasnitskiy was commended by the commander in chief for his knowledgeable and decisive actions.

During that period a group of students from the General Staff War College were visiting the fleet. They had gone to sea aboard the "Ognevoy." They were amazed at the skill of the crew.

"Aboard the 'Ognevoy,'" one of the generals said, "it is as though everything takes place by itself. This shows the excellent training of the personnel! And all that with such a very young captain..."

Soon after that memorable cruise, Captain Third Rank Yasnitskiy was appointed captain of the big "Admiral Isakov" subchaser, which was undergoing repairs. Things with this ship were not going too well. Sailing, which Yasnitskiy loved greatly, was scheduled for the distant future. Meanwhile, hard work lay ahead in repairing and rebuilding the machinery and, above all, the combat spirit of the crew.

Lyudmila was quite pleased by her husband's change in his duties.

"Finally you will be able to come home somewhat more frequently. I hope that this privilege of 'repairing' officers will apply to you too."

"Naturally, it will," Gennadiy said, smiling. "Naturally but not immediately. Pack up a few more clean shirts and cigarettes. I believe that I should not leave the ship for a few weeks."

Yasnitskiy returned home 1 month later. Lyudmila was happy: she too had heard that things were going well with the "Isakov." As always, she was eager to find out what her "indomitable captain" had been able to accomplish. He had been able to accomplish a great deal. The ship was returning to active duty as a frontranking unit. Unexpectedly, however, Yasnitskiy was summoned by Vice Admiral V. Kruglyakov, first deputy commander of the fleet.

It was a question of appointing him first officer of the "Kiev." Yasnitskiy was stunned: it meant giving up being the captain, after several years of successful ship command.... It meant a step backward. Furthermore, he had been accepted as a candidate for the Naval Academy. This meant that studies would have to be postponed as well. He tried to express his views.

"This is no simple step," the vice admiral agreed. "You are worthy of a more direct step in your service. But this is what the fleet needs today."

This was in December. Heavy snow was falling outside the fleet's headquarters, in the darkness. The moored ships, close by, would suddenly become invisible. Visibility had dropped to zero. It is difficult to be a seaman at sea in such a situation. Suddenly, Yasnitskiy realized that in life as well one could lose visibility without even noticing it. This was probably the case of people who forget that their sacred duty is to serve the homeland wherever needed....

He accepted and apologized for having taken the time of the vice admiral. In parting, the latter shook his hand firmly and wished him success.

Yasnitskiy learned his duties strictly on the job. The commanding officer, Captain First Rank V. Pykov, described to his new first officer the specific nature of service aboard an aircraft carrier. The ordnance was very complex and the crew huge. One could not get to know all the officers, not to mention the ranks. In winding up the talk, the captain suddenly gave him an unexpected assignment:

"You are scheduled to replace me 1 year from now."

However, Gennadiy Pavlovich took over from the captain 2 years later. By then he had been given an accelerated promotion to captain second rank.

Immediately after his appointment, Yasnitskiy took the "Kiev" on a long cruise. Now he felt the personal and highest responsibility for everything which the concept of "Kiev" embraced: ship, airfield, aviation, people. He knew that the world was following each mile and maneuver of the "Kiev," and that its itinerary was being plotted on the operative charts of military specialists of some 10 countries, and that throughout the cruise it would be permanently "escorted" by NATO ships and "targeted" by newspapers from different countries. Yes, each one of our ships sailing the world's oceans is a representative of the Soviet navy. The "Kiev," however, is one of the few which embody it.

Narrow straights lay ahead, and Yasnitskiy worked intensively with the people who had been called upon to obey him during periods of extreme stress. If the airplanes were to take off, the captain would be in the midst of the flight crews: although he had never flown an airplane, he had to control the activities of the pilots over the ocean, without error and prevent others from making errors. If the personnel in any subunit would show a flagging spirit, he would immediately go there. Aboard a ship, particularly at sea, no unit should be weaker.... He spent days on the bridge, resting while he made his rounds. He had to forget what physical fatigue meant and could not allow himself to relax even briefly.

On one occasion, in the course of an exercise, Yasnitskiy ordered in the air a group of airplanes who were to hit a target. The "enemy" managed to leave the range of the "Kiev," and there was no time to lose. The pilots knew that they would be flying at a maximal range and that even the slightest inaccuracy in flying over the ocean, where no guidelines exist, may prevent them from flying back to the ship.

Meanwhile, the situation forced them to change course and, therefore, to increase their flight time. The captain was silent. As usual, it was as though things were taking place by themselves. He intervened only when necessary, as though standing on the side and supervising the impeccable work of the machine he had set up. He was beginning to be concerned with the return of the airplanes, when Ye. Alifanov, the senior flight officer, who had been the first to take off and, consequently, had expended more fuel than the others, flew away from the ship and ordered his subordinates to begin landing.

Alifanov had barely reached the bridge with his report, when Yasnitskiy shook his head:

"How much was left in your tanks, Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich?"

The other man forced a smile:

"Permission not to report on this matter, comrade captain."

"What about the flyers?"

"They are pleased. Youngsters...wherever there is risk there is pleasure."

Late that evening, when the "Kiev" had blended with the sea and the sky, identifying itself with its few running lights, the radio telephone rang up on the deckhouse. Yasnitskiy picked up the receiver and identified himself.

"Are you the ship's captain?" a woman's voice asked unexpectedly. "The minister of defense wants to talk to you, Gennadiy Pavlovich."...

The marshal of the Soviet Union inquired about the situation aboard the ship and asked to convey thanks to the entire crew for the successful exercise and expressed his satisfaction with the activities of the ship's captain.

As with his previous promotion, Yasnitskiy received an accelerated promotion to captain first rank. This was the high recognition of his merits and proof that this officer was serving and working in a rhythm which is by no means standard. The only rhythm Yasnitskiy is familiar with, however, is always that of total dedication. To him the acceleration is a natural form of self-expression, a moral standard.

As a rule, being the captain of a ship does not leave a naval officer time for anything other than his duties. Still...visiting Yasnitskiy aboard the ship's he had commanded, I noted that the pictures in his cabin clearly spoke of his love for clean and clear colors. He values clean lines and clarity in paintings, literature and color photography in which he has shown a durable interest. In an effort to define his attitude toward such attractions, I asked him what was his main hobby.

"The true commander can have only one hobby, the service," Gennadiy answered without thinking.

"And while on leave?"

"I have never had complete leave. I either had to go back to work ahead of schedule or study.... Which means that in the future all my leave time will be spent ashore...."

The captain said this somewhat unconvincingly, without enthusiasm, for his entire life and plans firmly bind him to the sea. This is the greatest valor of the true naval officer which, unquestionably, Yasnitskiy is. Not so long ago he was awarded yet another order, "For Service to the Homeland in the

Armed Forces of the USSR" second class. Meanwhile, last spring the "Kiev" was awarded the "Red Banner," an exceptional rating of the services of this ship in peace time.

Our meeting aboard the "Kiev," with which I began this essay, was my last with Yasnitskiy as a ship's captain. Already then he was being considered for a higher position. I recently learned that this had indeed happened. Perhaps now Yasnitskiy will once again go to sea.

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THE CITY: COUNTENANCE, RIGHTS, OPPORTUNITIES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 86 (signed to press 9 Dec 86) p 57

[Two letters on a topical subject]

[Text] The deep qualitative changes which are taking place in our society cannot fail to affect the urbanization process, the entire complex mechanics of urban policy. We find a great deal that is unsatisfactory in this area: frequently the solution of social problems is considered a "supplement" to production and economic programs; major contradictions arise between enterprises and the city and the initiatives of planners and citizens are paralyzed by obsolete instructions. The satisfaction of the needs of the people and their daily lives depend on thousands of circumstances--from territorial systems for the deployment of production forces to the capacity of a house building combine in a city. The question of "what for whom?" is by no means rhetorical. For decades we built enterprises and mines with the assumption that the human factor will always "come." It did "come," but frequently disappeared just as quickly, leaving behind it temporary settlements and a "polluted" nature, lowering labor activeness and creating a million migration flows.

Obviously, departmentalism and the "economic logic" of urban policy had to be replaced by a comprehensive approach, based on strategic socioeconomic, cultural and ecological guidelines. The common denominator of these changes will be a gradual conversion of socioreproduction processes into the leading force guiding the further development of the cities and the entire system of settlements on the country's territory. This is an exceptionally serious task which requires coordinated efforts. However, it is important to solve it without delay, for new problems already related to intensification processes are arising.

Yet, this task is frequently interpreted simplistically. Availability of housing and service and recreation establishments is a necessary but insufficient prerequisite. A good habitat can stimulate professional growth and the social activeness of the individual and motivate his actions. Studies of labor and "environmental" motivations of working people indicate that they are quite similar: in both cases we need opportunities for choice, self-realization, availability of opportunity, etc.

A developed and stable urban environment, varied and capable of self-organization and self-control is equally necessary today for the development of acceleration processes and of man himself.

Following are two letters to the editors which discuss major aspects of this topical subject.

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INSTRUCTION ON AN INITIATIVE

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[Letter to the editors by V. Glazychev, head of sector for the development of the cultural potential of cities, Scientific Research Institute of Culture, candidate of philosophical sciences]

[Text] For the past 2 years, together with a few young assistants, I have been in the very thick of problems of contemporary urban life. Jointly with the party and economic activists of a number of Russian cities and their population, we undertook to solve problems of upgrading urban cultural potential, trying to solve them and, in the course of this work, analyzing what works and what does not, and if so why.

The materials of the 27th Congress came out at a time when our experience in interacting had entered a decisive phase. This made us react particularly sharply to their profound meaning, and to feel and sense the dimensions of the work which we had to do so that the historical resolutions of the party may be implemented in full and as rapidly as possible.

Being in close touch with the people and having earned (not immediately) the trust of our partners, young and old, who had been granted powers and were asserting themselves in social activities, one could see the great thirst for independent and responsible and mandatorily constructive action. Whether it is a question of creating a qualitatively new center for aesthetic upbringing in Brezhnev City, restoring an ancient building in Yelabuga and adapting it to the needs of young people for sensible recreation, or developing a feeling of responsibility for the preservation and development of the urban environment among the very recent settlers of Tikhvino, we witnessed the fact that initiative groups existed everywhere; equally clear everywhere is the desire of the urban authorities to support initiatives.

However, the moment matters reach the point of organizational-practical efforts, we see how quickly the ranks of those who had expressed their readiness for action thin out, how very promising and, let us emphasize, entirely realistic ideas vanish, and how a stance of supportive expectation becomes widespread among all urban community strata. What is the matter? We must understand the problem, for however remarkable the decrees of directive-issuing authorities may be, applicable to constructive suggestions submitted

from the local areas, turning words into actions depends and will depend on the "transmission mechanism." We shall not consider this problem in its "general aspect" but discuss specific cases.

In principle, substantial corrections may be made any city plan, a plan which is by no means drafted by the city but by the capital of the republic, in Leningrad or Moscow (a vestige of the time when the country had virtually no skilled specialists outside the centers), or a detailed plan for a new microrayon or the reconstruction of an old street. However, if it is a question of a rayon center or a city under oblast jurisdiction, there is almost never (fortunately, exceptions exist) a town architectural design administration and engineering organization. Furthermore, the city soviet has no right to turn to an outside engineering organization of its own choice, for it has already been "assigned" to a zonal organization or directly to the central planning system. The construction workers will not accept a blueprint without the seal of the respective "assigned" organization. The stroybank will not pay the bills even if the construction workers ignore the lack of such seal.

Should the city soviet begin to assert its sovereignty in practice, some instruction or other is inevitably violated....

Here is a typical example. The city soviet decides to build a large sports complex and a park in an area which, according to the general plan, has been designed for housing construction but which, for years has been covered with the rubbish from construction work (this already becomes a violation, for the authors of the general plan, who are from out of town, and the republic authorities which approved it, support the old plan). A plan for the park is needed and so are blueprints for sports installations, which are not included in the general plan; the plan must be financed through centralized channels. The Scientific Research Institute undertakes to draw up a plan and includes this project in its own plan under a different title and signs a contract with the architects (another violation). The city architects prepare the blueprints together with the engineers, free of charge, working evenings and on days off and the management of the design institute stamps its own seal (another violation, for no such project has been included in the institute's plan). Thanks to the efforts of the public organizations, the bricks plant goes into shock work and produces additional goods in a volume consistent with standards for rejects and breakage, and it is these tiles that go to the "partisan" construction site (a violation). The worker brigades of the head enterprise in the city pass a resolution: nine people will do the work of 10 and the tenth person will work at the construction site (a violation). And so on. However, after this dump has been replaced by a smart sports stadium, a general athletics hall and a swimming pool to which children from kindergartens are taken in plant buses and where adults can come together with their children, all of this retroactively becomes part of the list of construction projects and, possibly, financing (a violation).

There has been initiative, independence, a creative approach to the project and unquestionable public use. However, the way to the result is like an obstacle course and at any point along the way the people may be stopped by the financial auditor, the state inspector, etc. Such delays are rare, for

both the purity of the thoughts of the initiators on all levels and the efficiency of results are familiar and obvious. However, it is hard to imagine the extent of the damage caused by the fact that willy-nilly all such "semi-legal" activities must be broken down into a number of individual actions and cannot be combined within a broad, thoroughly planned and properly discussed public program for sociocultural development.

Here is another example. Twenty years ago this was a city of under 50,000; today it has almost reached the half-a-million level. It has no children's theatre (the theatre exists only in the tens of drawings of school children displayed in the exhibit "Our City Seen Through the Eyes of Our Children"). The city soviet holds a meeting and, having discussed in detail the cultural condition, passes a resolution: to create a theatre, with an interesting, creative and outstanding group, something to be proud of. Enterprises are ready to find the necessary funds to support the theatre until it can stand on its own two feet and begin to pay its way; the cost includes not only that of performances and out-of-town trips but many other urgently needed projects: directors and actors could head amateur studios; painters and engineers could carry out social instructions and also head amateur studios. A building is found which (after minor remodeling) could become the theater's "home" and all within a single construction season. All this is good but also all this is bad. The city does not have the right to set up its own theatre: such a decision must be made by the republic's ministry of culture. The ministry does not object openly but begins to obstruct the process....

Who can guarantee that a talented and energetic director, who is willing to move to that city, will not lose patience or will not be "tempted" by another offer, or that the group of actors, dreaming of their own theatre, who have come from elsewhere and do other jobs to earn a living, will not get tired from it all and lose faith in the leader. After which, everything quiets down....

Is it amazing that many cities, in developing by all seemingly or unseemly means "live" and dynamic museums, make no effort to given them an official status, for should a ministry inspector visit such a museum he would immediately determine that the exhibit has been mounted "improperly," and that the table of organization calls for hiring people without which this "living" museum has done perfectly well but would exclude those without whom it cannot survive. All of this is known from practical experience, and the "living" museums prefer to be called collection or information center, charge no money from visitors and their full-time personnel, if such personnel exists, officially hold different jobs. The paradox is that for statistical purposes such museums do not exist and the reason they are actually there is that "they do not exist."

Let us look at another city. Its mayor, the gorkom and the party committee of its largest plant unanimously believed that in the center of the old city, which is slowly falling apart, a new-type youth housing complex can be built. This would involve the building of two-story brick houses erected by the future residents themselves, who participate in the project from the very start. They agree that these young people will assume the additional obligation to repair and restore the old wooden buildings and adapt them to

become clubs, which the city urgently needs. They would like for the students of one of the oldest architectural VUZs in the country, together with their teachers, to participate in designing and restoring projects and engaging in new construction work. They would like all this but they lack the stamina to assume the difficulties involved in such a process. As experienced people, they know perfectly well how many standards and regulations would have to be violated to implement a tempting idea. Therefore, they prefer to adopt a petitioning-expecting position: Could the oblast center, perhaps, assume the responsibility?

Different cities have different concerns and hopes related to the fact that in their case a change is being initiated, involving the building of a new large plant which will entail a substantial population increase. In this case, the "improper" action on our part was to draw up an alternate general plan before those "entitled" to do so had done it, to establish contacts with the general builder and to organize constructive interaction earlier. Our plan may not be better. It is different, however, emphasizing a different content and the other values of the site. For that very reason the citizens and the builder have been offered the opportunity of having a choice. At this point a previously insoluble problem appears: to set up a permanent council and a permanent secretariat for the entire new industrial agglomeration and to combine the previously uncoordinated efforts of the four cities in solving common problems of cultural development and ecological upbringing. The possibility of achieving this objective becomes realistic by the very fact that the people have a passionate desire to act on a qualitatively different basis and have the courage to take a risk, follow an untrodden path, which is consistent with the leading trend of the present and the future.

In his speech at the All-Union Conference of Heads of Social Science Department, M.S. Gorbachev said: "Clearly, as we restructure our lives, there is a renovation and a sharp and not always open yet uncompromising clash of ideas, psychological concepts and styles of thinking and acting. The old does not surrender without a fight. It finds new forms of adapting itself to the dynamics of life through a variety of scholastic intricacies."

A person who actively participates in the life of a number of Russian cities, can see how complex this struggle is. He can also see that the majority of the opponents of renovating the work style are still continuing to rely on the powerful support of the old style of thinking, frozen in standards, regulations and instructions. In frequent cases no discussion develops for no counterarguments are brought forth in answer to a specific suggestion backed by proper computations. All too frequently our opponent expresses his total sympathy and essential agreement, after which he waves his hands and quotes the latest instructions issued by the Ministry of Finance, Gosstroy, Ministry of Culture, etc. Many such instructions were drafted more than 50 years ago (since then becoming more complex and stricter with each new draft) under a qualitatively different reality of economic, social and cultural relations. As long as the opponent can cite as an absolute argument, a point from an instruction, the very existence of which one could not even surmise, any discussion may become meaningless before it has even begun.

Furthermore, some of the latest instructions are also not free from "heredity." Let us consider the Regulation on the Amateur Association and Hobby Club, which was adopted this year and ratified by a number of powerful organizations, including the AUCCTU, the Komsomol Central Committee and the USSR Ministry of Culture. We are pleased that such a document was drafted and that thousands of supporters of truly amateur activities were given the opportunity of legally codifying their activities, which is a real step in the development of urban culture. However, having taken this step, the ratifying authorities undertook to "develop" what was allowed with a number of stipulations. Thus, an amateur association can draw up a plan for creative organizational work. The plan, however, must be approved by the instituting organization; the procedure and system (and, therefore, the working hours!) of an amateur association must also be approved by the instituting organization. It turns out that orders to enterprises and organizations for services to amateur associations may be placed not by the association but...naturally, the instituting organization. The result? The autonomy of the amateur association has already been nipped in the bud and the responsibility of its authors is cut by one half, whereas the instituting organization (a house of culture, a DEZ, or a department of a creative association or an art school) becomes responsible for a number of items totally unrelated to its direct activities. Is it amazing that it is so infinitely difficult to find sponsoring organizations?

Is it not a strange paradox that the city (in all such cases we have a small or medium-sized city in mind), which has always been the innovator in the area of culture, is visibly beginning to surrender its positions at a headlong pace? We are pleased that in an increasing number of cases the power of culture-generating activities in the villages is superior to those in the city. However, it is clearly abnormal for a strong kolkhoz to be able to build a wide-screen movie theatre (underutilized, uneconomical) but not a rayon center. Some kolkhozes have their own riding and yacht clubs (which is splendid!), whereas many great cities cannot allow themselves anything similar. In this case it is no longer a matter of a clash between active and passive or bad and good people but of operational opportunities.

Actually, the kolkhoz may invite, for a hefty fee, first-rate designers and provide them with good working conditions. The city is unable to do so. The kolkhoz has the right to sign a contract with a student construction detachment, but not the city. By decision of the general meeting, the kolkhoz may set up a paintings gallery. The city cannot.

Today asking the citizens to be active is not enough. In frequent cases activeness cannot be seen behind the armor of cautious skepticism which was forged over the decades. Objective circumstances are needed with which voluntary activities really become a leading form of activity and self-government the leading form of government. Strange though it might seem, in the majority of cases it is no longer economic (with the exception of small towns declining for the lack of large-scale independent industry), or ideological conditions that are the reason, for the program of acceleration and the parallel revival of public opinion and openness have created the atmosphere needed for restructuring. Legalisms are the obstruction.

The press has discussed extensively a situation in which many essentially good laws, unsupported by corresponding legal acts, have not led to a reorganization of departmental interests and remain on paper only.

It is a question of the absolute need for conversion to self-financing and self-government of cities, i.e., of a tangible backing of the constitutional rights of the city soviets. This complex operation requires not only new laws but also the annulment of innumerable current laws which, in their totality, illegally infringe on the rights of the city in favor of centralized administrative systems. The effectiveness of the program of acceleration proclaimed by the party depends by no means only on the situation within the enterprise or the economic conditions of production activities and freeing them from paper shuffling. It depends, to a tremendous extent, also on the extent to which the sociocultural environment of the cities is consistent with the increased requirements of the Soviet person. If this is acknowledged, the next step is the calm and realistic consideration of the totality of "external" influences on the life of the city from the viewpoint of the extent to which they are consistent with the mobilization of internal resources and enhancing the activities of citizens and urban authorities.

It is unnatural and conflicting with the essence of socialist democracy for a city soviet to be "caging" ceilings and funds from production facilities which exist at the expense of the human resources of the city, its territory, transport infrastructure and cultural potential. The enterprises must pay their proportional "fees" to the urban treasury. The city must act as the single builder and customer, with a strong design service and its own construction base (which, today, is rare). It is the city and not the innumerable ministries that must have the full freedom to set priorities in construction, reconstruction and opening cultural and sports institutions, their structure and nature of activities. No one questions the need for state inspection or general state standards which stipulate the social minimum of available facilities for the urban population or the strict observance of state legislation. However, it is a question precisely of legislation, of the right of the city, of the architectural-construction right, exercised within the framework of socialist democratic procedures, unlike departmental instructions and regulations passed without the knowledge or even the agreement of those whose actions become predetermined by such documents.

Naturally, the conversion from the current to the desired condition is complex and cannot be quick, the more so since different cities in the country have reached different degrees of maturity and real readiness to make and implement independent decisions. Obviously, the sooner this practice becomes the social standard, as is the case with the experiment in self-financing of production in some enterprises and with some theatres regarding the economic autonomy of the creative collective, a process must be started involving several cities, of conversion to self-financing and real self-government of city life.

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CLOSING THE GAP

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 86 (signed to press 9 Dec 86) pp 61-63

[Letter to the editors by G. Maloyan, head of the urban planning and reconstruction department, Urban Construction TsNIIP, Gosgrazhdanstroy, candidate of architecture, and G. Ronkin, senior scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics and Forecasting Scientific and Technical Progress, candidate of economic sciences]

[Text] A situation has developed currently in which 60 percent of the urban population in the country live in 290 big cities (in excess of 100,000 people), while the other 40 percent live in the remaining cities and urban-type settlements. To a large extent such a structure no longer satisfies the requirements of the conversion to production intensification and the tasks of upgrading the labor and social activeness of the entire population.

The reasons for the lack of noticeable results in controlling urban development are extremely numerous and should be the topic of a separate study. In this letter we would like to discuss a single topic: despite the abundance of regional plans no tangible changes in the efficient deployment of production forces is taking place. Largely by the fault of the planning authorities, existing disproportions are not being dealt with. By all possible means, bypassing the general plans of the large and the largest cities, on an "exceptional" basis (which is widespread) instructions are being issued on building ever new plants and shops and expanding existing enterprises in them, including those which, according to the general plans, should either be closed down or their line of activities changed.

What kind of correction of disproportions in the development of settlements, based on decentralization, could there be a question of if in no more than 15 years since the enactment of the last general plan for Kharkov about 80 decisions were made on the construction of new industrial projects "as an exception?" This was done under the conditions of a virtual exhaustion of the city's manpower, relying on migration from other agglomerations. Since 1959 the population of Minsk has tripled, although during that time 11 decrees, instructions and other documents were passed on ensuring strict control over the growth of that city.

A special study of the implementation of the general plans of new cities, made by the Urban Construction TsNIIP, indicated that as a result of unplanned industrial construction, in 54 percent of the cities which were studied they remained effective between 1 and 5 years and only in 10 percent of the cases for more than 10 years, although the plans called for the development of such cities for the next 20 years or longer. Yet the forced redrafting of general plans entails major national economic losses, drastically increases the cost of urban construction measures and hinders the shaping of the architectural appearance of the cities.

The view is frequently heard that the root of the reasons for this is the weakening of the disciplining role of urban construction documents and the obsolescence of many of their stipulations, the general plan of the city above all. Planners justifiably complain that work on such plans takes place, as a rule, in the absence of full initial data and unclear customer assignments. The lengthened deadlines for the formulation of general plans, particularly for large cities, sometimes taking 6 to 8 years (including coordination time), makes suggestions on construction priorities meaningless. General plans are frequently drafted without the necessary participation of territorial transportation, engineering, and industrial institutes, although their participation is extremely necessary if the level of the competence of the decisions is to be upgraded.

So far, nor has "big" science addressed itself to the city. Even central academic institutes which deal, for example, with problems of social development, bypass problems of individual cities relative to the need for the development of their general plans. Today, for example, there are no forecasts on the sociodemographic structure of the population of specific cities, relative to family and age structure, and professional and cultural-consumer groups; there are no forecasts of the way of life of the various population strata. Without this, however, it is unlikely that a substantiated program for housing construction, developing the system of sociocultural services, and so on, could be formulated.

Unquestionably, designing and its connection with urban construction and "big" science must be improved and made consistent with present-day requirements. This is a necessary but nevertheless an insufficient prerequisite, for the implementation of research and design projects involves all parts of the urban construction process, such as forecasting, planning, financing and organizing construction. The stability and reliability of the urban general plan are based on tested parameters of the estimated size of the population, structure of the economic base, servicing infrastructures, and role in the regional settlement system. All of this can be provided with analytical work but only on the basis of unity and interconnection among the objectives of forecasting, designing and planning. No such unity exists for the time being.

Thus, sectorial and academic scientific research institutes deal with forecasting. They formulate comprehensive programs for scientific and technical progress in urban construction on the union and regional levels. sporadically, outside the general plan, comprehensive programs are drawn up for scientific and technical progress for individual economic areas and some "million-population" cities. As a whole, however, the system does not affect

the targets of urban construction planning, such as designs and projects for regional planning and the general urban plans.

Urban planning is made by design organizations of republic gosstroy and by city and oblast executive committees. These plans, if one may describe them as such, are above all "territorial" developments, based on standards and, essentially, representing forecasts under the conditions of an insufficient consideration of resource availability for the implementation of long-term decisions.

Finally, let us consider planning by 5-year periods by subdivisions of gosplans. Despite old aspirations to strengthen within such plans the territorial level, the latter is based on the sectorial principle which, as a rule, makes urban construction volumes and deadlines directly dependent on the decisions of ministries and departments (in the case of large and very large cities there number may be as high as 100). Each one of them watches out, in the first place, for its own interest. The urban planning commissions are powerless and deal with current problems only. Consequently, it becomes too late for anyone to balance requirements on the urban level, for the plan has already been formulated.

Therefore, the forecasting, designing and planning system, which, as intended, should be unified, has been actually split into performers, deadlines, scale of problems and departmental interests. Such lack of coordination may be seen at the top, at the starting level. No one, however, is properly engaged in coordinating specific developments such as those based on general city plans, their customers and their designers. How, for example, to link the concept of regulating the growth of a large city (based on restraining the increase in production personnel) with the stipulation that as the number of workers increases so does the level of wages of the administrative personnel of enterprises? How to stimulate the development of a small town if ministries find it more profitable to create new jobs and increase capacities in a large city, which gives them virtually free of charge the entire necessary infrastructure, and so on? Who cares about opening branches in remote areas and about the territorial balancing of settlements, the more so since enterprises receive funds for housing construction by expanding their output and not by reducing the size of the personnel.

The need to organize closer interaction among all units involved in the urban construction process and to strengthen their observance of the same guidelines and surmounting discoordination along the administrative chain has become unquestionable today. The importance of substantially strengthening the territorial aspects of management is being emphasized. It is suggested that their regulatory functions be largely based on the mechanism of withholding funds from production enterprises (for the use of resources, location advantages, etc.) in favor of the owners of the territory--the local soviets. The need also appears for a certain organizational integration which, naturally, must be thoroughly substantiated. Certain experience in this kind of integration has been acquired by the socialist countries. Thus, in the GDR district territorial planning bureaus (based on territorial construction design organizations) are comprehensive scientific research organizations which coordinate planning and design. The range of the problems they solve is

quite vast, ranging from the study of manpower resources and the choice of construction sites to improving settlements and planning capital investments.

Mainly we need a state program for improving settlements and developing and improving cities and solving the housing problem. The scientific foundations of such a program have already been laid. The USSR Gosplan has approved a general plan for settlements on USSR territory; regional plans by republic and major area have been drawn up. A comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress in urban and housing-civil construction exists. These documents earmark steps for the interrelated development of cities and settlements of a different economic nature, on the basis of the planned shaping of integrated group systems of settlements, above all in the zones falling under the influence of big cities, areas of development of territorial-industrial complexes and the development of agrocomplexes. The point is to implement these stipulations. Here as well a certain restructuring of the administrative process in the shaping of settlements, the active application of economic methods for controlling their development and perfecting the structure of the controlling authorities in charge of the comprehensive built up and improvement of cities and settlements is necessary.

Above all, one of the methods for economically stimulating the efficient location of production facilities is payments which industrial enterprises must make for the use of urban land. This would make it possible to include in economic practice the economic evaluation of urban land (which is in the nature of a lease and is nothing but a type of rental "based on location"). Such payments may be differentiated, ranging from prohibitively high in the large cities to low in the small towns. This system of payments, applied in a number of socialist countries, contributes to the efficient location of production capacities and the economical utilization of industrial territories which, in our country, are still wastefully used to a great extent.

Let us say, for example, that the area occupied by industrial enterprises (as much as 30 percent of the urban territory) accounts in our country for no more than 30-35 percent of designated industrial zones. As a result, every year tens of thousands of hectares of valuable land are wasted, engineering facilities must be extended and transportation becomes more difficult.

It makes sense also to consider direct incentive for the location of new production facilities and branches of associations in small towns, particularly in the areas of influence of large industrial centers. In Bulgaria, for example, such enterprises are free from making payments to the budget for a number of years and their entire income is used to develop production facilities and for the material incentive and social development fund. Unquestionably, cost accounting relations on the urban level must be broadened. In particular, all enterprises, including those under union jurisdiction, must compensate for the use of urban resources by making mandatory payments to the city budget based on a certain percentage of their profit, used for the development of urban transportation, improvements and sociocultural construction. This would lead to a coordination of interests of enterprises and towns in terms of the economical utilization of resources. The responsibility of the local soviets for the comprehensive development of the cities will gain real support and will be strict and substantiated.

It would be expedient to develop, as in the GDR, contractual forms of relations between enterprises and the city. In that country enterprises are legally obligated to sign contracts with local administrative authorities for the joint construction of urban economic projects, intersectorial industrial servicing enterprises, etc. Annual district conferences are held. The chairman of the council of ministers or his deputy, representatives of the local administrative authorities and of the management of enterprises on their territory solve all construction problems and problems of enterprise participation in the comprehensive development of the city, on the one hand, and of assisting enterprises in reconstruction and technical updating, on the other. These steps are included in the plans for the development of enterprises and cities and become mandatory.

With such interaction, known in the GDR as "territorial rationalization," the local administrative authorities frequently turn from "petitioners" into truly equal partners of enterprises, working with them on a mutually profitably basis.

The opportunities which this provides for the development of the urban economy will stimulate the organizational and economic activities of local soviets and their efforts to improve production efficiency and develop the social infrastructure. The decree "On Measures for the Further Enhancement of the Role and Strengthening the Responsibility of Soviets of People's Deputies for the Acceleration of Socioeconomic Development in the Light of the Resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress," which was recently adopted by the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers, offers real opportunities for the development of such relations between local soviets and enterprises.

We consider equally important steps for the most efficient utilization of the huge funds allocated for housing and civilian construction, which are now dispersed among a large number of departments, and eliminating the disparity of interests of contractors, designers and all other participants in the housing construction complex. In our view, in order to accomplish this it would be expedient to set up on the level of oblasts and large cities, cost accounting territorial design-construction associations, which would act as contractors for the local administrative authorities and carry out the comprehensive buildup or reconstruction of housing districts delivered "ready for use." The local authorities, in whose hands the state and cooperative funds and funds from enterprises and organizations for housing and civilian construction would be concentrated, would bear the real responsibility for end national economic results: the comprehensive buildup and improvement of our cities and settlements.

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THE SOCIAL SCIENCES ON THE LEVEL OF THE NEW DEMANDS OF LIFE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 86 (signed to press 9 Dec 86) pp 64-75

[Article by P. Fedoseyev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences]

[Text] The role and responsibility of the social sciences become substantially greater at the present crucial stage in the development of the world and in the life of Soviet society. At the 27th CPSU Congress strict requirements and sharp critical remarks were addressed at the social sciences. They were concretized and expanded in the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Journal KOMMUNIST" and at the All-Union Conference of Heads of Social Science Departments. That conference, which opened with a speech by M.S. Gorbachev, with its profound theoretical content and creative formulation of new problems, provided a new powerful impetus in the development of Marxist-Leninist thinking.

M.S. Gorbachev's instructions on the changed role and significance of the social sciences both within science as a whole as well as on a broader--social and universal--scale and on the need for substantial changes in the attitude toward it, both on the part of the other sciences and the entire society, are of major basic importance. Our time demands of the scientists high-level activeness on the common front of science and social life and the ability to provide a profound scientific interpretation of occurring processes and to consider the dynamics of history on a long-range basis.

After the congress the scientific institutions critically analyzed the results of their work in the social sciences, reviewed their research plans and implemented and are currently taking steps to upgrade their efficiency and to bring them closer to life and to practical experience. The social scientists are aware of the justice of the critical remarks expressed at the 27th CPSU Congress concerning a certain alienation of philosophy, economics and other social sciences from life and are seeking ways of surmounting this basic shortcoming in their work. Today the social scientists must concentrate on the tasks formulated at the congress of accelerating the socioeconomic development of the country, perfecting all aspects of social life and restructuring the people's work style, methods, awareness and behavior.

The CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Journal KOMMUNIST" not only defines the role of the journal and its tasks but also provides a broad, an expanded

program for research by all detachments of social scientists, dealing with topical problems. The party demands of them extensive philosophical summations, a profound development of the dialectics of socialist society and topical theoretical problems of economic and social development, revision and elimination of obsolete and dogmatic concepts, restructuring of the way of thinking of the scientists themselves and of their vision of the contemporary world in the entirety of its complex and contradictory nature.

The essence of our time is characterized by the essential concept of class conflict and the struggle between the two global systems. However, we cannot interpret it without relating it to the Leninist principle of the peaceful coexistence among countries with different sociopolitical systems, integration processes and global contemporary problems and the concept of winning in the peaceful competition with capitalism. The confrontation and competition between the two global systems is combined with growing manifestations of the interdependence of countries in the contemporary historical process. That is why the main and most complex political and theoretical problem in the contemporary age of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism is the identification and maximal utilization of the possibilities and conditions for peaceful mutual relations and cooperation among countries with different social systems, under the circumstances of the uninterrupted struggle between the two different socioeconomic systems.

For more than a hundred years, bourgeois ideologues and politicians have presented a distorted image of communist theory, claiming that according to it the purpose of the class struggle waged by the proletariat is to suppress and enslave or even physically annihilate members of other classes in order to achieve its own domination. It is precisely thus that they depict the Marxist-Leninist idea of the hegemony of the working class in the revolutionary reorganization of society. In fact, the working class is trying not to perpetuate its rule but to eliminate the division of mankind into hostile classes, to abolish all class differences and to establish social equality among all people.

The division of society into rich and poor classes, into rulers and oppressed, was related to the establishment and development of private ownership of means of production. The elimination of this division is possible only with the elimination of the monopoly held by one class over the means of production and with their ownership by the entire society. According to Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the elimination of the class division in mankind is possible only with the leading role of a class unrelated to the private ownership of means of production, the class which is most interested in the development of social production forces, a consistently revolutionary class--the working class.

History has already provided irrefutable proof of this. The division of society into antagonistic classes of exploiters and exploited has been eliminated in the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist community; an alliance of friendly toiling classes and social groups has developed; their further rapprochement is taking place and a real opportunity is offered for the gradual elimination of class differences. It is thus that the path has been laid toward eliminating the division of mankind into different classes and toward reaching social homogeneity and the comprehensive

development and well-being of all people, which is the main objective of the communists.

On a global scale, however, class antagonism remains and is the main source of the aggressive policy and ideological diversionary actions of imperialism, pursued against the socialist states. The imperialist bourgeoisie is steadily and persistently suggesting to the individual nations that the Soviet Union and its allies, who consider the victory of communism a historical law, intend to overthrow the capitalist system by military force and to impose communism throughout the world. Day after day, for many years, the myth of the Soviet "military threat" has been steadily disseminated by the supporters of the military-industrial complex.

The communists believe that the historical competition and struggle between these two systems is an objective fact of history which cannot be eliminated by any kind of decisions, statements or agreements. However, the confrontation between the two different social systems, as a specific form of global development in the contemporary age, does not mean in the least that a military clash between them is inevitable. The dialectical materialism of Marxism-Leninism is manifested with particular theoretical strength and great practical significance precisely in its concept relative to the problems of war and peace. The communists favor the implementation of the legitimate process of the struggle for liberation and social progress under conditions of peace and international security. This is consistent with the Leninist concept of global development, which organically includes the principle of peaceful coexistence between countries belonging to the two different socioeconomic systems as the basic and only acceptable standard of international relations.

The bourgeois ideologues are spreading the fabrication that the communists have a feeling of class egotism, for which reason they are ready to sacrifice the interests of mankind and, therefore, could start a nuclear war. In reality, it is precisely the imperialist bourgeoisie, contaminated with class egotism and for the sake of its own class interests that is undermining the foundations of peaceful coexistence and cooperation among nations, imposing an insane arms race and pushing the world toward a nuclear precipice.

The communists are the most consistent humanists, the most active supporters of mankind's progress. In expressing the interests of the working class they do not pit them against those of the rest of mankind but rely on the working class as the leading force of social progress throughout the world. This is unquestionably confirmed by the entire theory, policy and practice of the communists. "...From the viewpoint of the basic tenets of Marxism," V.I. Lenin wrote, the interest of social development supersede those of the proletariat; the interests of the entire labor movement are superior to the interests of an individual stratum of workers or individual aspects of the movement..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 4, p 220).

In the struggle for the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe and the salvation of global civilization and life itself on earth and for the sake of the further progress and well-being of all nations, the Soviet leadership has repeatedly emphasized the humanistic idea of the priority of universal human

values over any others, whoever their supporter may be. This does not contradict but is entirely consistent with the class nature of Marxism-Leninism and the class approach to the basic policy of the working class and its revolutionary party. By virtue of its social status, it is precisely the working class that is free from class restrictions and national prejudices and is the bearer of internationalism and true humanism; its historical vocation allows it to speak for the interests of social development as a whole.

The ideal of the future social system for which the working class is struggling is not one of privilege and development of individual classes or a small elite at the expense of the majority of the population, as has been the case in the centuries-old history of class-oriented societies, but the progress and well-being of all mankind, of every individual. This also is a universal ideal, an inseparable component of which is the firm and inviolable peace among nations. It is a specific manifestation of the principles of democracy, humanism and justice in international relations.

On the basis of the knowledge of the laws governing social life and social thinking, the most important thing is to look ahead, to see the future social and spiritual progress of mankind. The basic documents of the 27th CPSU Congress and M.S. Gorbachev's speeches comprehensively substantiate the program for the development of Soviet society until the end of this century and the creation of a system of universal international security so that we may enter the 21st century without nuclear or other mass destruction weapons, and so that all of the achievements of science and technology may be used exclusively for peaceful purposes and for the good of the people.

Under such circumstances, the task of social science is to look ahead, to see the prospects for the social and spiritual growth of mankind. An extensive development of the general methodological concept of our age and of the methodological foundations for forecasting global progress is needed. This is a most difficult task, for the picture of the world is radically changing with increasing speed.

The experience acquired in forecasting enables us to estimate the probable level of development of production forces and economic growth over the next 20 years or so, taking into consideration the possible advancement of science and technology. Forecasting social processes and the development of man himself is much more difficult. Here as well the use of dialectics as the theory of comprehensive development which takes into consideration the variety of interconnections and contradictions in the historical process, proves to be particularly necessary and may be particularly fruitful.

It is obvious that the capitalist production method and the capitalist social system do not meet the needs of our time and are the greatest obstacle on the way to human progress. In the developed capitalist countries the concentration of capital and socialization of output have reached the highest, one could say the maximal level possible under capitalism; the overwhelming majority of the population has become hired labor exploited by national and multinational monopolies. Under these circumstances, the progress of science and technology leads to the further intensification of the conflict between production forces and production relations and between the overwhelming social

majority and the ruling classes. Contradictions and crises in economics, social relations and political and spiritual life are growing and increasingly worsening. The reactionary and aggressive forces of imperialism have reached extreme levels in the militarization of all aspects of social life. The peoples of the developing countries are being subjected to a most cruel neocolonialist exploitation by the imperialist countries. All of this increases the social potential of the anti-imperialist struggle.

It is equally clear that by the end of the 20th century and beyond it, the forms of the socialist social system and the economic and social development, political organizations, cultural construction and way of life of the people and the spiritual aspect of man will be substantially renovated and enriched in the course of the further progress toward communism, on the basis of the powerful growth of production forces.

The main problems which life sets to the scientists are the ways, directions and forms which will be followed in the development of socialist society, the new levels and heights it will have to attain, and the type of changes which will take place in the correlation between the material and spiritual forces of the two social systems in the world arena in their peaceful competition, and ways of avoiding a military conflict. All social scientists must pay great attention to the development of these problems.

This will require, above all, a clear interpretation of the objective laws of social development and the deletion in theories and concepts of anything which may lead to any degree of complacency and a passive attitude and would restrain the enhanced activeness and dynamism in our work. This is a radical condition for restructuring research in the social sciences.

Our main shortcoming in the development of theoretical problems was that the laws of dialectics and political economy, as applicable to socialism, were interpreted quite abstractly, in their general aspects, without a study of their effect in life and regardless of their influence on the individual and on the functioning of objective laws. Such interpretation, naturally, cannot be efficient, for the laws of social development are laws governing the overall activities of the people and, above all, the laws of material production. They do not depend on the consciousness and wishes of individuals. These, however, are not immutable laws but objective trends, manifested not automatically, not despite the people but through them.

This fully applies also to understanding the economic laws of socialism. The basic economic law of socialism presumes the maximal satisfaction of the needs of the people, based on increased public production. However, in order for this law to be properly efficient, we must produce more and, therefore, this means that everyone must work better, both the direct producers or their managers; it means improving the equipment and organization of the production process and the economic management mechanism. Without this the basic economic law of socialism will not be effective. Its effect depends on the consciousness and labor activeness of the people and the efficient use of their creative capabilities.

The theoretical underestimating of the role of the active principle and of the transforming activities of the people in the functioning of objective socialist laws led to the spreading in ideas and management practices of feelings of complacency and reliance on the automatic application of the advantages and opportunities of socialism.

And, as is always the case, one extreme triggered another, its opposite. Subjectivism, accompanied by voluntarism, was the reaction to the objectivistic understanding of socialist economic laws. The specific "logic" of this manifestation is understandable. If economic laws operate automatically any steps or plans in economics, albeit entirely arbitrary, could count on the application of economic laws. As a result of such shortcuts in theory and politics, objective economic laws were frequently violated and social activeness and responsibility declined.

Naturally, it would be erroneous to consider that theoretical shortcuts were the only ones responsible for the slowdown of the pace of socioeconomic development. Theoretical work reflected and determined existing practices without influencing their change or improvement; it fell behind not only such practice but also the requirements of life and the needs governing the development of socialist society.

The one-sided and essentially distorted interpretation of the objective laws of social life restrained creative thinking and substantiated the bureaucratic deformation of our consciousness. The lack of sociological realism, subjectivistic arrogance and underestimating the consciousness and independent activities of the masses were the sources of the bureaucratic way of thinking.

The April CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th Party Congress marked a radical change both in the policy aimed at the acceleration of socioeconomic development and scientific and technical progress as well as in conceptual and theoretical stipulations oriented toward the comprehensive enhancement of the human factor. This was related to the persistent efforts of the CPSU Central Committee to enhance the leading role of the party and the activeness of all of its organizations and all party members in all areas of socioeconomic and cultural construction and in science and technology.

The growing dynamism in party theoretical and organizational work requires a radical revision of the content, style and methods of work. We must acknowledge that, as a whole, the restructuring of the social sciences, theoretically and organizationally, is lagging behind the requirements of reality and the tasks set by the 27th Party Congress of drastically upgrading the scientific standard of research and radically turning science toward practical requirements.

The CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Journal KOMMUNIST" gives priority to stricter requirements concerning philosophy and works by philosophers. "Philosophy," the CPSU Central Committee document reads, "can efficiently carry out its social and scientific functions only if it promptly reacts to the main events in the country and in the world and to fundamental scientific discoveries and processes. It must provide answers to the pertinent problems of daily and spiritual life and to complex moral problems."

Great difficulties arise in the course of restructuring the work precisely in the the philosophical sciences, where the abstract nature of the results of studies and debates has become particularly deeply rooted. Although many useful works on dialectics are being published, a great deal of metaphysical thinking remains in philosophy.

Philosophy deals with the most general laws and categories and involves extremely broad summations. A summation, however, is inconceivable, without abstracting ourselves from specific and individual features and characteristics of phenomena or processes. However, as V.I. Lenin pointed out, there are two types of abstractions: scientific abstractions, which reflect nature more profoundly and more accurately and fully, and meaningless abstractions. Unfortunately, in our philosophical work there have been quite a number of meaningless abstractions. Endless debates on the order in which categories are placed and classified and on the principles for structuring a system of philosophical laws prove most clearly that our concepts of dialectics have assumed a certain frozen, static form.

We must draw basic conceptual and practical conclusions from the fact that the laws of dialectics are laws not only of the functioning of the social organism. Their main feature is that they are laws of development, progress and uninterrupted motion. This motion is not simply even but, as history, contemporary history in particular, shows, this is an accelerating movement.

The restructuring of the consciousness, behavior and activities of the people in the spirit of the acceleration is not a subjective wish but a need imperatively dictated by the internal development of socialist society as well as the competition between the two systems in the world arena. The acceleration of all social development is the law governing the dynamics of the communist system.

Under these circumstances the dynamism of dialectical thinking and awareness of the innovative and revolutionary nature of the Marxist-Leninist outlook are of exceptional importance.

The idea of the inexhaustible possibilities of socialism in terms of a historically unparalleled acceleration of the social and cultural progress of society is the essence of the philosophical concept of the contemporary stage. For this reason, the entire set of philosophical problems, including logical forms and categories and levels of human knowledge must be understood within the context of the living and developing Marxist-Leninist world concept, closely related to the constructive activities of the party and the people, of the comprehensive advancement of socialist society and further progress toward communism.

V.I. Lenin pointed out that different aspects of philosophical concepts of the world assume priority at different historical stages. Under contemporary conditions, at the stage of accelerated socioeconomic development, priority is given to dialectical materialistic ideas of steady motion, development, change and renovation. Such movement and development is considered not in terms of its comparison with the past but also from the viewpoint of the future; not in a simplified understanding of simple evolution reduced merely to slow change,

but dialectically, in accordance with major historical turns and profound quality changes. The radical restructuring of all aspects of life of Soviet society and the establishment of new approaches to the solution of crucial problems are taking place in the course of the struggle against all that is obsolete and all accumulated negative phenomena in our reality.

The basic dialectical conclusion is that what is new, growing and progressive is insurmountable and that, in the final account, it will inevitably defeat what is old and has outlived its age.

However, dialectics emphasizes another truth as well, the fact that successes in the struggle between the new and the old and the progressive and the backward do not come by themselves. Historical progress in the contemporary age lies precisely in the fact that through conscious and purposeful activities progressive social forces are converting an objective opportunity for progress into reality.

The philosophers can find their place in the party's efforts to improve all aspects of social life, above all in enhancing the activities of the human factor, bearing in mind the conceptual restructuring of the awareness in a spirit of revolutionary dynamism inherent in the method of dialectical materialism, as embodied in the CPSU course of accelerated socioeconomic development.

It is precisely this aspect of dialectics that is frequently ignored. That is why real contradictions are presented in the guise of an anonymous, impersonal aspect. For example, in frequent cases the interpretation of the problem of the consistency and contradictions between production forces and production relations creates the impression that it is question merely of the interconnection among different production factors. Yet production relations are relations among people and their lag not only hinders the development of the production process but also adversely affects people, their interest, their position and their attitude toward the work.

Under socialism the contradictory interaction between production forces and production relations is manifested not only through the unity but also the divergence between private and social ownership and between private and public interests. As a whole, they coincide, for increased public ownership is the foundation of the growth of the well-being and of private ownership by the citizens. But the percentage of the public national income that goes to personal consumption and into production and other social needs is an area in which the interests of the individual and society do not coincide entirely. Another problem is that of the share of the personal utilization by the worker in a socialist enterprise or a kolkhoz of the overall income for distribution. The principle of payments based on labor is the foundation of this distribution. Actually, however, deviations from this principle occur. Reduced wages in a given sector, area or skill lead to a loss of interest and manpower. Higher wages given to some groups of workers, compared with their labor contribution, are given either at the expense of social development as a whole or of some segment of the population.

On the eve of the Great October Revolution, in developing the foundations of the socialist economy, V.I. Lenin formulated the essential concept that accountability and control, particularly over the extent of labor and consumption, is the main feature in the accurate functioning of the first phase of communism. Subsequently, based on the experience of the first years of Soviet rule, in concretizing this concept, he reached the conclusion that the socialist economy must be structured on a cost accounting basis (see op cit., vol 44, pp 151, 220, 342-343). It is only on this basis that he considered it possible to upgrade labor productivity and set proper wages, i.e., the distribution of material and cultural goods "according to the work," and see to it that all enterprises work profitably and without a loss and enhance the responsibility of management for the state of economic affairs and secure the interest of the state. When Lenin was told that some trusts, converted to cost accounting, could find themselves short of cash in the immediate future and already intended to reconvert to state budget subsidies, he issued the following categorical warning: "I think," he wrote, "that trusts and enterprises operating on the basis of cost accounting were founded precisely in order to assume full responsibility for the profitability of their enterprises. Should they fail to achieve this, in my view, they must be prosecuted; all members of their boards must be sentenced to long jail terms (perhaps paroled after a while), with confiscation of all property, etc.

"After creating trusts and enterprises operating on the basis of cost accounting, unless we are able to protect our interests fully, like businessmen, we would prove to be total idiots" (op cit., vol 54, pp 150-151).

It was thus that V.I. Lenin sharply raised the question of the practice of cost accounting. Unfortunately, however, for many years many of our enterprises worked at a loss, not because of some objective circumstances but because of irresponsibility.

Today we have either understood or are coming closer to understanding the nature of cost accounting as the foundation of socialist economic management. Not only individual enterprises and associations but entire sectors are being converted to total cost accounting. This basic law of the socialist method of organizing the production process, turnover and distribution has still not been properly reflected in theory or in political economy. Yet, essentially, cost accounting, which is based on a consideration of the actual labor contribution and results, is organically related to the basic socialist principle "from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work." The measure of labor and consumption depend on cost accounting and on its results, for it is only through cost accounting that we can achieve a just distribution of material goods among enterprises, labor collectives and individual workers. It is easy to note that under socialism commodity-monetary relations as well are nothing other than a form of cost accounting relations between producers and consumers, be they enterprises or individuals.

Cost accounting is still being considered one of the numerous economic levers, underestimating its determining role in the entire socialist economic management system (planning, distribution of resources, relations among enterprises, the wage system, principles governing price-setting and credits, and so on).

The discussion and substantiation of the essential stipulations related to the political economy of socialism and the economic mechanism are of great importance not only in scientific research but in properly guiding leading personnel, training specialists in VUZs and retraining cadres within the continuing education system.

In terms of the further development of economic research, two problems must be resolved first of all. The first is to ensure a strengthening of demographic studies. The study of the laws and socioeconomic conditions governing the growth of the population, forecasting demographic processes and manpower dynamics are becoming an increasingly relevant task. The uneven demographic situation in the different parts of the country also creates a number of problems which require systematic study. The second is securing a statistical base for economic research, and developing a methodology and a method for economic measurements, particularly in the case of quality indicators.

Agrarian studies must be raised to a new level. As long as it was a question of creating an agroindustrial complex, the social scientists were quite active, convincingly proving its advantages. Subsequent to its organization, their activeness decline noticeably. Yet it is precisely now that it is particularly important to sum up experience and to study the new problems of agroindustrial integration.

Sociological studies of working and living conditions, and the interests and needs of different social groups and the way of life of the people and public opinion are assigned an important role in the enhancement of the human factor. Shifts have been noted in this area. As a whole, however, one could say that for the time being sociologists have not found efficient methods for work and scientific analyses.

The work of sociologists and psychologists at many enterprises has become more active of late, yielding substantial results in the areas of vocational guidance and the adaptation of young workers, eliminating manpower turnover, studying the life of labor collectives and the social conditions of worker families, etc. It is thus that the sociologists help the party organizations in creating a healthy moral and psychological climate in labor collectives and in the rational organization of the work and recreation of workers and kolkhoz members. However, for the time being the number of such sociological services at enterprises is extremely small. The academic institutes and VUZ departments should support the development of the sociological service at enterprises and kolkhozes, sum up the work of sociologists and psychologists and involve more extensively post-graduate and undergraduate students in such work. This is of great importance in involving them in research and in understanding the real problems of life.

At the same time, we must enhance the theoretical standard of studies of social life in our society, its social structure and the laws governing its development. In this respect scientific communism should play a leading role with the help of sociological research data. Naturally, common problems of development of socialist society and its progress toward communism are studied by the entire social science system. However, the poor activities in this area displayed by the various subdivisions of scientific communism, noticed in

academic and other institutions, prevents the unification of the efforts of scientists in different areas in engaging in basic studies of the establishment and development of the communist socioeconomic system, particularly the laws of its first phase, ways of perfecting socialism and national relations and socialist self-government by the people.

Therefore, it is a question not only of the quantitative growth of output but also of basic quality changes in all aspects of social life. The study of such processes requires a reinterpretation of respective theoretical concepts. So far, we have not paid necessary attention to the fact that the law of conversion of quantitative into qualitative changes operates under socialism as well. The idea was that the basic qualitative changes of a revolutionary nature were limited to the transition from one social system to another. For that reason, the development of socialist society was considered primarily as an evolutionary process unfamiliar with qualitative, with revolutionary changes. Such concepts did not encourage the study of turning points, when the quantitative growth of production forces leads to necessary profound changes in production relations, the political superstructure and concepts.

It would be inconceivable to strengthen the ties of philosophers with life without their active participation in work on problems of scientific communism. It is only through joint creative work by philosophers and specialists in scientific communism that we can enhance the standards and efficiency of research conducted by such social science detachments, naturally, interacting with scientists working in other areas.

Scientific communism is the logical extension and, one could say, the completion of materialistic philosophy. Marx considered the inability to understand and appreciate the significance of practical revolutionary-transforming activities one of the main shortcomings of the old materialism. Yet without this aspect materialism, as V.I. Lenin said, is halfway materialism, one-sided and inert. Lenin expressed with exceptional clarity the organic link between the theory and practice of scientific communism and the philosophy of dialectical materialism: "Marx formulated the main task in proletarian tactics strictly in accordance with all the postulates of his materialistic-dialectical outlook. It is only the objective consideration of the totality of interrelationships among all classes within a given society without exception and, consequently, a consideration of the objective level of development of society and the interrelationship between it and other societies that could constitute a foundation for the proper tactical approach adopted by the progressive class" (op cit., vol 26, p 77).

It was precisely from this viewpoint that the CPSU analyzed the level reached in the development of our society and the totality of interrelationships in the world arena and drew corresponding basic conclusions at the April Central Committee Plenum and the 27th Party Congress.

The main conclusion is that the contemporary historical period is, to a great extent, crucial both in global developments and in the life of our society. The crucial nature of the contemporary stage calls for radical qualitative and essentially revolutionary changes in the economy and other areas of life of Soviet society. Understanding this feature of the contemporary stage is the

theoretical, one could say the conceptual postulate for the acceleration of socioeconomic development and scientific and technical progress, perfecting the political system and the spiritual life of society and upgrading the awareness and activeness of the people.

The social scientists can increase their role in the overall system of scientific knowledge and social life only by displaying initiative, creatively interpreting and extensively developing the contemporary relevant problems of social development. This requires the closer unification of the efforts of the social scientists themselves and strengthening the joint activities of specialists in different areas of Marxist-Leninist science.

The broad science of history plays an important role in summing up historical experience in assessing the present and forecasting the future, and in shaping a patriotic and internationalist outlook.

A number of fundamental works on universal and domestic history were written and published by history institutions, developing the Marxist-Leninist concept of the historical process, works which earned broad recognition. However, serious critical remarks have been addressed to our historians as well. Public opinion is justifiably displeased with and condemns manifestations of subjectivism and adaptation to circumstances in the interpretation of a number of historical events and problems and in assessing the role of some personalities in history. We are dissatisfied with the insufficiently high standard of many publications. Of late lesser attention is being paid to methodological and conceptual problems. A large number of insignificant works in terms of content and relevance continue to be published. An essential shortcoming is the poor attention paid to popular publications aimed at the readership at large.

The foundations of historical knowledge must be substantially strengthened. A class approach must be systematically used in historical research. All deviations from historical truth and all manifestations of national exclusivity and boastfulness must be removed and a decisive struggle must be waged against the bourgeois falsifiers of history.

The study of the theory and history of culture, problems of Russian culture in particular, has been neglected. The situation in this area was sharply criticized by the Soviet public.

At the present time more research is being done on problems of Russian literature at philosophical institutions. The study of problems of Russian culture in history, ethnography and art institutions is being intensified.

No major change will be achieved in such work if we limit ourselves, as was the case in the past, to making some additions and refining our plans. The main shortcoming in the organization of scientific work is that studies on broad topics are being conducted on a primitive and unorganized level, by isolated and weak sectors and groups. The results are superficial and petty and of no practical value.

The increased complexity of real problems is based on the need to coordinate and organize creative cooperation among people working in the different areas of the social sciences. Comprehensive socioeconomic, sociolegal and economic-legal studies have become standard practice. All of these areas are interrelated and, whenever it becomes a question of the study of the individual, they become interwoven with conceptual, psychological, moral and aesthetic aspects.

This enhances the significance of developing methodological problems of the social sciences, for methodology is the main link of their interaction.

As we know, the 27th CPSU Congress drew attention to the need radically to improve the coordination of research in the social sciences. We must acknowledge that such coordination is presently poor within the system of academic institutions and even poorer in VUZs and sectorial institutes. The coordination of research on the union-wide level requires the closer cooperation among the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the sectorial academies and the Higher Certification Commission.

Using a system of scientific councils and head institutes, the Academy of Sciences could be entrusted with the coordination of research on complex problems. In order to coordinate research in the individual areas of knowledge and on special problems, head institutions should be appointed on the basis of the nature of their specialization.

Naturally, no center can regulate the creative research of all scientific institutions and VUZ departments and the many thousands of scientific workers and teachers; nor is this necessary. If it is impossible to manage all units of the national economy from a single center and if this requires the increased independence and responsibility of enterprises and associations, the same applies to the organization of science and the activities of scientific institutions.

Taking this into consideration, we should organize the coordination of scientific research in the social sciences on the regional level as well, bearing in mind the creation of joint scientific councils consisting of representatives of academic institutions, schools, IML branches, and the sectorial sciences in republics and major areas in the RSFSR, and appoint head scientific institutions in charge of basic areas of the social sciences.

The main attention in such coordination should be focused not on the formal recording of leading projects, which still frequently predominates, but on the content of research projects and on bringing to light the most important problems and new approaches to their solution and their practical application.

The main thing now is to ensure the practical organization of the comprehensive work of our institutions based on the problems formulated in the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Journal KOMMUNIST," and in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the conference of social scientists held in the Kremlin; their structure must become more

flexible and dynamic. The creation of joint research collectives and the organization of temporary laboratories of academic, VUZ and sectorial science institutions for the implementation of target programs would be of great and progressive importance.

Currently joint creative collectives are being set up to work on the following problems:

The dialectics of socialist development at the present stage;

Socioeconomic and conceptual problems of scientific and technical progress;

Enhancement of the human factor and problems of molding a comprehensively developed individual;

Public, collective and private interests (their commonality and differences, unity and contradiction);

The socialist way of life;

Perfecting management and the economic mechanism;

Developing socialist production relations and socialist ownership;

The theory and practice of cost accounting;

Commodity-monetary relations and price-setting problems;

Study of the experience and problems of the agroindustrial complex;

Problems of labor psychology under the different conditions of contemporary scientific and technical progress;

Problems of demography and population social problems;

Developing socialist democracy as socialist self-government by the people;

Problems of the theory and history of culture.

The main areas of coordination are being defined in the various topical problems of contemporary global development, the communists, worker and national-liberation movements, and safeguarding of peace and strengthening the security of the peoples in the struggle against imperialism. Work will be done on global and regional problems.

Cooperation is developing with scientists from the socialist countries, covering a broad range of problems in the area of the social sciences. The most important among them are part of a long-term comprehensive program for cooperation among social scientists in the socialist countries. An important role here has been assigned to studying the experience and problems of socialist economic and scientific and technical integration.

The contemporary age has broadened the front of scientific interaction and called for joint research by representatives of all areas of knowledge and a deeper integration among social, natural and technical sciences. Social scientists cannot successfully work on contemporary topical problems without taking the achievements in the natural sciences into consideration.

Social, legal, ethical and aesthetic criteria applied in assessing the achievements of scientific and technical progress, selecting the various trends and types of equipment and technology and designing and creating technical systems, means of communications and industrial, housing and sociocultural buildings, have become mandatory.

The joint work among scientists in all areas in formulating and implementing the comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress and socioeconomic development, along with other comprehensive programs, is of great importance in this respect.

We must revive and make more systematic the work of philosophy and methodology seminars organized by scientific institutions. The seminars could become an attractive arena for lively creative debates on comprehensive problems of scientific and technical progress and socioeconomic development, problems of culture and education, international relations and global matters.

The scientific council on the philosophical and social problems of science and technology of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium and the recently created council for the comprehensive study of man are called upon to make a substantial contribution to the interaction among sciences. The enhancement of the work in these important areas will ensure progress in the joint research efforts by specialists in different areas of knowledge.

The comprehensive and difficult problem of man and technology is a crucial area. This is due not only to the threat of the use of nuclear, chemical, biological and other mass destruction weapons but also for the sake of the peaceful utilization of the powerful yet dangerous forces and characteristics of nature, as discovered by science.

The people highly value the striking accomplishments in the natural sciences and technology and assign great hope to scientific and technical progress. Nonetheless, they are concerned by the problem of interconnection between man and technical systems. Insufficient competence, carelessness and irresponsibility in designing, building and operating modern complex technical systems hide within themselves and cause incalculable harm. Major accidents with a tragic end for the people, which have occurred of late in various countries, raise most gravely the problem of the social responsibility of the specialist to man and society.

Naturally, the question of competence and responsibility affects not only technological control but also the management of an enterprise, association, sector, establishment or labor collective and, in general, all social processes. Here as well the role of social science in the higher schools and in training cadres of specialists is exceptionally high.

The study and teaching of the social sciences means not only mastering the laws of the development of nature and society but also high standards of communist morality, high civic consciousness and the social responsibility of specialists in all areas of activity.

All of this is directly related to the problem of enhancing the human factor as the main motive force of social progress.

Today a great deal of thought is being given in the bourgeois countries to the human factor and the rights and freedoms of the individual. However, what is meant by such attractive slogans is, essentially, the image of the obedient worker and voter, who is given formally broad rights but, in terms of his actual functions, is totally dependent on capital. In our understanding, the problem of man is one of the comprehensive development of the personality, of shaping a scientific, a Marxist-Leninist outlook, of general and specialized training, of organizing labor and recreation and upgrading material well-being and culture, labor and social activeness or, in a word, all aspects of a human way of life.

The acceleration of socioeconomic and scientific and technical progress, the development of socialist democracy and the efficient utilization of all the advantages offered by socialism would be inconceivable without the all-round development and sensible utilization of the creative efforts of man and without enhancing the levels of skill, awareness and labor and social activeness of the people. Progress in socialist society is inconceivable without taking the human factor into consideration.

We must acknowledge that a specific and profound study of the role of the subjective factor in the functioning of the objective laws of socialism--the role of leading bodies and people's masses--has still not been made by social scientists.

One of the reasons for shortcomings in the work of social scientists and their poor links with life is errors in cadre training. For a number of years the training and subsequent activities of social scientists were oriented essentially toward literary work, the publication of articles, pamphlets and books and the writing of dissertations. It is on this basis that an abstract-educational, a bookish approach to scientific work was developed, which did not encourage them to enhance the practical significance of such efforts.

The main trend in the reorganization of higher schools provides opportunities for removing this major shortcoming in cadre training and ensuring, both in higher educational institutions and in post-graduate studies, conditions for the involvement of the future scientists in research aimed at solving topical problems. Correspondingly, we must restructure the forms of studies and, particularly, practical training. We must accelerate doctoral dissertations and select possible candidates for doctoral degrees.

We must show greater attention and exigency toward our journals. Scientific journals are the most efficient means of developing topical problems and providing fast information on the results of studies and experience in teaching. Under contemporary conditions, the restructuring of all aspects of

social life and scientific activities and the reinterpretation of a number of theoretical concepts in the work of scientific journals become particularly important.

We cannot consider that our journals have restructured their work in accordance with the requirements of the present. The editorial staffs, with the participation of a broad circle of scientists, must provide a thorough critical analysis of the work of their publications and define the basic trends in improving their activities. The development of creative debates on topical problems is particularly important. Greater attention should be paid to the work of the departments of criticism and bibliography. We must ensure objectiveness and exigency in assessing the nature of works from the viewpoint of their scientific significance and relevance.

The possibilities of the scientific public and, in particular, the USSR Philosophical Society, the Soviet Sociological Association, the USSR Scientific and Economic Society, the Association of Soviet Economic Scientific Institutions, the Soviet Association for Political Sciences and others are being poorly utilized. By no means do all problem scientific councils work with the necessary efficiency.

The point now is to make fuller and more active use of the scientific potential of Marxist-Leninist social science.

Theoretical studies must not only reflect but also outstrip the process of historical development. They must bring to light trends in social life and illuminate the path which must be followed by society. It is this that determines the increased role and responsibility of scientific institutions and associations and their lofty calling in the theoretical interpretation of the practical dynamics of history in the age of profound social change and scientific and technical revolution.

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EDITORIAL NOTE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 86 (signed to press 9 Dec 86) pp 75-77

[Text] With the article by Academician P.N. Fedoseyev KOMMUNIST inaugurates a broad exchange of views on the tasks and future of the restructuring of the social sciences at the present stage in the development of our society.

The main trends in this restructuring and the place and role of social science research in implementing the strategy of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development were defined by the 27th CPSU Congress, in the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Journal KOMMUNIST" and M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the All-Union Conference of Heads of Social Science Departments. The need of developing in our social science an atmosphere of innovation and creative quest, of free competition of ideas and, at the same time, an atmosphere of high principle-mindedness and exigency, and party strictness concerning results of studies, their scientific-cognitive content, ideological and theoretical standards and practical significance runs through them. Today, when we must make revolutionary changes in all areas of our life, it is exceptionally important to be able to cast a new, realistic and principle-minded look at an entire series of basic problems of social development, both domestic and international, and to eliminate dogmatism in their interpretation.

Here the tone is set by the collective theoretical reasoning of the party, vividly embodied in the resolutions of the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress. The political report submitted by the Central Committee to the congress, and the new edition of the CPSU program adopted by the latter are models of creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory as applied to the new historical stage in the life of our country and the rest of the world. They mark a decisive upturn in the study of the realities of our age and open broad horizons for the further deeper theoretical interpretation of contradictions, problems and the prospects of social progress. Reaching this lofty level and becoming imbued with the new ideas and the spirit of innovation and creativity, and developing within ourselves a new way of thinking and, on this basis, decisively moving ahead along the entire front of research, is the most important task of philosophers, political economists and specialists in scientific communism, history, the theory of the state and law, culture, literature and other social sciences.

The facts indicate, however, that the restructuring of the social sciences is still taking place at an inadequate pace, encountering obsolete dogmas and approaches which prevent science from addressing itself to life. On the one hand, the purely comment-oriented and illustrative approach to the new ideas formulated by the party is being surmounted with a great deal of difficulty; on the other, it frequently happens that the entire "novelty" of a study is reduced to the strictly verbal, the terminological elimination of old concepts. The elimination of such phenomena requires a great deal more extensive and daring work in which we must involve the social scientists in all areas and all scientific institutions and organizations which rally them and the young scientific forces.

The article by P.N. Fedoseyev formulates the basic problems on which the social sciences must concentrate; it earmarks approaches to their solution and describes the plans of the institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences in this area and the prospects for their implementation. Nevertheless, such problems cannot be exhaustively presented within a single article. Other approaches may be possible, as well as other formulations of problems and other ways of solving them. That is why the editors of KOMMUNIST intend to promote, in a variety of forms, discussions of problems and tasks of development of social science as a whole as well as its individual sectors. The purpose of such discussion is to contribute to the better understanding by the social scientists of their tasks, to formulate the most promising approaches to their implementation and to support everything that is new and progressive and created by contemporary scientific thinking. In the course of these discussions, the journal plans to publish a number of editorial and authored articles, to organize an exchange of views in roundtable meetings and encounters between scientists and editors and to publish reviews of letters and responses.

In inviting the broad scientific public to express its views on the nature of these problems freely and in a spirit of self-criticism, in organizing the debates, the editors proceed from the fact that the great theoretical legacy of Marx, Engels and Lenin were and will remain the inviolable foundation on the basis of which our social science advances. Nonetheless, as Lenin pointed out, to preserve a legacy does not mean in the least to be limited to it. To be loyal to Marxist-Leninist theory means creatively to develop it in the direction earmarked by its founders. It is here as well that collective theoretical thinking has reached substantial results, expressed in the innovative political concepts formulated by the Communist Party. In critically analyzing the condition of social science research, we must be able to single out positive accomplishments so that, on this basis, to advance more confidently.

The main criteria in assessing the results of social science studies should be their practical value, the real changes which have been obtained or could be obtained on their basis in the economic, political and cultural life of socialist society. However, guided by such criteria, we must be able to apply them skillfully, without sliding into pragmatism and opportunism. We must always remember that the link between social sciences, their theoretical and basic areas in particular, and life are by no means direct and not always on the surface of phenomena. A most topical social practical task such as

developing a new way of thinking among the masses, for example, requires the profound study of an entire series of very general conceptual, cultural and logical-methodological problems.

The comprehensive many-faceted nature of contemporary social problems is one of their clear features. It requires the further integration of scientific knowledge and strengthening the alliance among social, natural and technical sciences. Particular attention should be paid to this circumstance. We must profoundly analyze our achievements and omissions in this area and define the most reliable means of the reciprocal fruitful cooperation among sciences. Not least here is the task of the social and humanitarian sciences of helping the natural and technical sciences in addressing themselves to the person, to realize the social, the human dimension of their own problems. On the other hand, integration processes demand the fuller and deeper consideration on the part of the social sciences of accomplishments achieved in the natural sciences and raise the question of using in the social sciences new methods of knowledge, mathematical in particular. In this connection, the all-union conference of philosophical and social problems of science and technology (February 1987) and the Eighth International Congress on Logic, Methodology and Philosophy of Science (Moscow, August 1987) will be of great importance.

The successful development of the social sciences demands, finally, the search for new structural forms and organizational solutions. Practical experience confirms that the most fruitful result, particularly in the new areas of development of science, are achieved by informal scientific collectives which rally specialists in different areas and concentrate on the solution of specific topical problems. Obviously, the role of problem scientific councils will increase; the possibilities of professional scientific societies, whose activities must be comprehensively developed, are by no means exhausted.

Comprehensive consideration should be given to all opportunities for upgrading the efficient activities of social sciences. To this effect, all participants in this discussion must express themselves in specific, practical, critical and self-critical and frank and involved manner on the way they understand the restructuring of social sciences. They must describe experience already gained in this area, both positive and negative. What forms of scientific organization ensure the most efficient increase in new knowledge, close and efficient ties between social theory and social practice and the best possible coordination among the efforts of academic, VUZ and sectorial science and a deeper unity between basic and applied research? How to create and preserve an atmosphere of creative quest and bold discussions and encourage the spirit of competitiveness? What problems of cadre policy must be solved above all and in what area? How more efficiently to ensure the rotation of cadres and the greater involvement of young creative forces in the social sciences? Under contemporary conditions, what would be the most expedient way of training new scientific and teaching cadres and how to ensure the steady enhancement of their skills? What must be done to increase the popularization of the results of studies and how to contribute to developing in ever broader social circles the need for Marxist-Leninist theory; in this area, what could be the role of the mass information media? What other problems in the development of the social sciences urgently demand greater attention?

The editors hope that scientists, teachers and practical workers will actively participate in the discussion of such problems and that the result of such discussions will help in the practical restructuring of the social sciences and in enabling them to reach new heights and upgrading their role in building communism.

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COMMODITY-MONETARY RELATIONS AND RESTRUCTURING OF THE ECONOMIC MECHANISM

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[Article by A. Malafeyev, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] Economic theory, which must interpret the experience of economic development, is our wealth. However, it is insufficiently being used in research and in solving vital contemporary problems.

Yet Engels himself noted that scientific views on features which will distinguish the future society from the capitalist society will consist of accurate conclusions drawn from historical facts and processes, reflecting development trends, and that outside of them, facts and processes would be of no theoretical and practical value (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 36, p 364). In complete agreement with this conclusion is the approach to the problem of interconnection between theory and practice, which V.I. Lenin characterized in July 1918 as follows: "The times when we argued about socialist programs on the basis of books are gone and, I am confident, in the case of Russia, gone forever. Today one can speak of socialism only on the basis of experience" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 499).

The 27th CPSU Congress gave us a superlative model of creative development of Marxism-Leninism. The implementation of the strategic task of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development requires a profound restructuring of the economic mechanism, the entire management system and the nature of economic thinking. In this connection, it was pointed out at the congress that a new look must be taken at some major theoretical problems, including that of commodity-monetary relations.

Commodity-monetary relations are a comprehensive concept which encompasses a broad range of interconnected economic categories. This includes commodity production, turnover, distribution and consumption of commodities, the laws of value, monetary circulation, supply and demand, price and price-setting, commodity, value, money, production cost, wage, profit, profitability, cost accounting, market, finance, credit, and so on. Most quantitative and qualitative planned and reported indicators of development of the socialist economy are presented in the nature of values. The full and systematic utilization of commodity-monetary relations on a socialist basis is a

necessary prerequisite for converting to economic management methods on all levels of the national economy.

In his speech at the conference of the aktiv of the Khabarovsk Kray Party Organization, on 31 July 1986, M.S. Gorbachev said that "Our changes and reforms earmarked in the resolutions of the April Central Committee Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress are a true revolution in the entire system of relations within society, in the minds and hearts of the people and in the mentality and understanding of the contemporary age and, above all, in the tasks created by tempestuous scientific and technical progress." We believe that firmly eliminating prejudices concerning commodity-monetary relations and their underestimating in the theory and practice of planned economic management, encountered among a certain segment of theoreticians and practical workers, must become a structural component of this revolution.

What is the nature of this prejudice and underestimating of commodity-monetary relations, and why does this view lack adequate grounds?

The prejudice is, first of all, that the new content of commodity-monetary relations under socialism, compared with capitalism, is ignored. Such views are "substantiated" by references to Lenin's works in the pre-NEP period. However, in his article "On the Importance of Gold Today and After the Full Victory of Socialism," which was written on the fourth anniversary of the Soviet system, Lenin already cautioned that "let us not surrender to the power of the 'socialism of feelings' or the old-Russian, semi-barbaric, semimuzhik and patriarchal mood, in which a blanket scorn of trade was typical" (op cit., vol 44, p 227). He wrote that trade is the link which we must grab with all our strength in order to lay the foundations for socialist socioeconomic relations. Vladimir Ilich indicated in a great number of other works the need to develop trade and to master it by the proletarian state.

The new content of commodity-monetary relations inherent under socialism was clearly defined in the CPSU program. Let us recall that in the different stages of development of human society, commodity-monetary relations have retained common features, consisting of the fact that the purpose of the products of labor is to sell them, that exchange must be of an equivalent nature, and that the laws of value, supply and demand and monetary circulation operate. However, it is at this point that their similarity ends. Under socialism, commodity-monetary relations are not simply a legacy of previous ages but a structural element of socialist production relations. They acquire a different personality. Indeed, under socialism, in terms of their socioeconomic content, commodity-monetary relations are qualitatively different from those under capitalism, for they are based not on capitalist but on public ownership of the means of production. Under socialism, most of the products are produced at socialist enterprises functioning on the basis of a plan and are marketed in accordance with plans for material and technical procurements and retail trade; commodities are the bearers of relations of cooperation and mutual aid among the individual units within the economic system and among the members of the socialist society.

As the entire experience gained in the development of the economy of the socialist countries indicates, under socialism commodity-monetary relations do

not create relations of class exploitation but reproduce socialist production relations.

The radical feature of the new content of commodity-monetary relations is that under socialism manpower is not a commodity. The worker is not separated from the means of production but, together with the other working people, is himself their collective owner. This ownership is exercised in the course of the creative and interested participation of the workers in socialist society in the activities of labor collectives.

The purpose of the production of commodities under socialism is not to extract capitalist profit but to ensure the increasingly full satisfaction of the growing material and spiritual needs of society and of each one of its individual members. Under socialism profit is not the final objective but the most important means of stimulating the growth of labor productivity and upgrading production efficiency.

The new content of commodity-monetary relations under socialism proves the groundlessness of the claims made by bourgeois ideologues according to whom the use of value relations in the socialist countries means that they have borrowed the methods of capitalist economic management. Commodity production and its categories have existed for thousands of years. Their content and nature of their functioning are determined by the features of the dominant system of production relations and there are absolutely no reasons to identify them with capitalist economic relations.

Secondly, the prejudice is manifested in rejecting the commodity nature of socialist production and claiming that such production is essentially not of a commodity nature.

How is it possible to deny the commodity nature of production as a whole if we acknowledge that not only objects of personal consumption but also means of production under socialism are commodities if the output of the first and second subdivisions encompass the overall social product? If ours is not a commodity output the conclusion is that it is a barter economy.

It is proper to point out that economic publications in the socialist countries also characterize socialist output as being in the nature of a commodity. Such is, for example, the view of the noted German (GDR) economist Waldfried Schlisser, who writes as follows: "In a modern socialist national economy trade relations are relations of developed commodity-monetary circulation, based on socialist commodity output" (WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFT, No 4, 1986, p 531).

Third, the prejudiced assessment of commodity-monetary relations and the rejection of the commodity nature of socialist production prevent economists who support this concept from properly understanding the problem of the interconnection between the planned nature of socialist production and its commodity aspect. This interconnection and combination of planning and commodity is successfully explained by L.I. Abalkin. "Planning," he writes, "characterizes the system of production relations in terms of the means of economic management and of the functioning of the economy. As to commodity-

monetary relations, they describe the form of economic relations.... If the opposite of planning is the uncontrolled management of the economy, the opposite of commodity-monetary relations is the barter form of economic relations" (L.I. Abalkin, "Khozyaystvennyy Mekhanizm Razvitogo Sotsialisticheskogo Obshchestva" [The Economic Mechanism of Developed Socialist Society]. Mysl, Moscow, 1973, p 64).

The accuracy of the concept of the inseparable dialectical interconnection between commodity-monetary and direct social relations is thoroughly and convincingly substantiated in the article by A.I. Pashkov (see VOPROSY EKONOMIKI, No 12, 1982). His view was criticized for the fact that he borrowed his arguments "directly from practical experience" whereas, it was claimed, political economy should provide merely a logical conclusion and interpretation of categories. However, the categories and their logic themselves are a reflection of the objective interrelationships within the economic process. It would be relevant to recall Marx: "The argument of the reality or irreality of thinking, isolated from practical experience, is a purely scholastic matter" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op cit., vol 3, p 2).

The negative assessment of commodity-monetary relations hinders the proper solution of the problem of how to relate the plan to the market. The problem is not new. During the period of the NEP the trusts enjoyed extensive economic autonomy. They bartered their products on the market, set the prices of their commodities, competing with private entrepreneurs and artisans. The state treasury was not responsible for debts incurred by the trusts. Budget financing was very limited and credit played the main role. Fear was expressed at that time that the conversion of enterprises to cost accounting would undermine planning. Lenin answered that the new economic policy does not change the unified state plan and does not exceed its limits but changes the approach to its implementation. Granting trusts extensive and real economic autonomy did not mean abandoning planned management but merely changed its methods. According to its decree on trusts, the All-Russian Sovnarkhoz appointed the members of the trusts' boards, approved income and expenditure accounts and the plan for the utilization of profits, and the production program. Ignoring such experience, the supporters of this concept artificially pitted the plan against the market, which they considered the embodiment of uncontrolled forces. However, this is erroneous, for under socialism the market is based on socialist production relations and characterized by the planned control of market processes which contribute to the establishment of proper national economic proportions. With such an understanding, the market becomes an organic element of the economic mechanism of socialist society.

The plan and the system of contractual relations take social needs into consideration in advance. However, the plan is unable to encompass the entire multi-million sum of commodities produced and marketed within the national economy. Let us add that in a period of sharp and quick changes in production equipment and technology and the tempestuous pace reached by scientific and technical progress, public demand is inordinately dynamic. These circumstances hinder the more suitable reflection within the plans of needs for one type of commodity or another in terms of quantity, quality and manufacturing and delivery deadlines. The socialist market at which the goods

are sold supplements and completes planned relations and ensures the consistency between produced commodities and the social need for them. The theoretical artificial pitting of the plan against the market hinders the practical orientation of the economic mechanism toward end results and the satisfaction of social and individual needs.

Fourth, the prejudice against commodity-monetary relations is manifested in the fact that some economists either deny the effect of the law of value in general or else accept it with so many stipulations as to make it invalid. They try to preserve the law without eliminating illegalities (elements of subjectivism in price-setting). Why? Because in their view the law of value has always carried within it the "gene" of ungovernability, because its reputation has been tainted (it continues to operate under capitalism!) and so on, and so forth. Such comrades display a cautious attitude toward the other laws governing commodity-monetary relations as well: the law of supply and demand and the law on monetary circulation, hoping that they will not work.

Here as well the experience of previous decades is ignored. It is true that during the period of war communism and in the 1930s the effect of laws governing commodity-monetary relations was rejected and almost ignored in economic management practices.

During the 1930s the prices of heavy industry commodities were unrelated to their value. Hence the system of subsidies and gross violations of the principles of cost accounting in industry and transportation. Procurement prices covered only a minor part of the cost of grain and, particularly, of livestock products, which adversely affected the pace of development of these farming sectors. A reassessment of theoretical values was undertaken in the 1940s. An editorial in the journal *POD ZNAMENEM MARKSIZMA*, No 7-8 for 1943, acknowledged the effect of the law of value in the socialist economy (although in its changed aspect). This was followed by steps taken to restructure the price system. In 1949, as a result of the reform in wholesale prices of commodities in a number of heavy industry sectors and rail transportation rates, which were brought closer to their cost, a foundation was laid for the elimination of the system of subsidies and for strengthening cost accounting. The reorganization of the system of procurement prices and a sharp increase in the prices of grain, vegetables, potatoes, sugar beets and animal husbandry products, combined with steps to supply agriculture with technical facilities substantially contributed to upgrading the rate of economic growth in the 1950s.

In the 1960s and and 1970s, economic discussions began increasingly to shift from academic problems on the need for commodity output and the nature of socialist production (commodity or noncommodity) to problems vital not only in terms of theory but also practice, such as the role of the law of value within the system of economic laws of socialism, ways of improving price-setting, improving methods for computing the efficiency of capital investments and new equipment, strengthening cost accounting, increasing material and moral incentives, and others; in a word, it was a question of the ways and means of applying commodity-monetary relations in the planned development of the socialist economy.

The most important result of the discussions held at that time was the recognition that the law of value, interacting with the other economic laws, plays a major role in providing the necessary national economic ratios and stimulating increased production efficiency. Heated debates took place on price-setting problems. The results were used in making the reform and revising prices and rates in industry and transportation and purchase prices of agricultural commodities. However, a number of problems remained unsolved.

The underestimating, not to say the rejection of the effect of objective laws governing commodity-monetary relations in theory hinders the solution of the problem of the comprehensive restructuring of the price system and the economic mechanism as a whole.

Fifth, denying the commodity nature of socialist production and ignoring its new social content prevents us from seeing through the smokescreen of economic romanticism the real future of commodity-monetary relations and their development trend. Yet, as Lenin said, the science of economics is a science of trends (see op cit., vol 4, p 108). What are the real trends in commodity-monetary relations in the socialist countries? They are, above all, the increased volume of commodity output and trade and the increased importance of financial-crediting and cost accounting relations in developing the national economy. The quantitative growth of commodity relations is combined with changes in their quality: in terms of their social content they are becoming increasingly mature. The role of incentive through value is increased and value criteria are being increasingly applied in determining the efficiency of capital investments in new equipment. Value relations are used in scientific research and development, in the efficient exploitation of natural resources, in computing the efficiency of foreign trade, etc.

These trends clash with opposing objective and subjective factors. Thus, the November 1946 USSR Council of Ministers decree called for the development of artisan cooperation as an addition to the production of consumer goods by state industrial enterprises. The share of artisan cooperatives in meeting consumer demand was determined largely by its successes in a healthy competition with state industry. In 1956 the industrial cooperative system included 53,100 industrial enterprises employing 1.2 million people. The activities of such cooperatives are well-remembered by many working people. As M.S. Gorbachev said, the system of artisan cooperatives was, clearly, prematurely abolished in the 1950s and 1960s. Its elimination and the unjustified steps which restrained the development of private auxiliary plots were influenced by ideas according to which commodity-monetary relations hinder the building of a communist economy.

Therefore, the study of the objective trends in the development of commodity-monetary relations leads to the conclusion that they are developing progressively instead of running backwards. Nevertheless, economists in whom the categories of commodity and money trigger negative emotions are continuing to this day sadly to repeat the obsolete formula according to which they are withering away. Obviously, this view does not contribute in the least but rather hinders the implementation of steps aimed at the profound restructuring of the economic mechanism and the conversion of all management units to economic methods.

Some Soviet economists question the reasons for the one-sided evaluation of the role and future of commodity-monetary relations. We believe that this is due to neglecting the experience acquired in developing and utilizing commodity-monetary relations in our country and in the other socialist countries. This experience has been occasionally interpreted in a primitive manner, ignoring the specific features of the building of socialism in the Soviet Union under conditions of capitalist encirclement and the exceptional nature of economic management methods during the period of war communism, in the first half of the 1930s and during the Great Patriotic War.

As to the period of the last 20 years, the development of the theory of commodity-monetary relations was influenced by the incomplete nature of the 1965 reform and the inconsistent nature of the steps which were taken to ensure the fuller utilization of commodity-monetary relations which were stipulated by the reform and, subsequently, in the 12 July 1979 CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree. Also influential was the liking for speculative theoretical elaboration and the one-sided and, in some cases, even simply doctrinary interpretation of statements by the Marxist-Leninist classics, ignoring the specific historical circumstances in which they were made. Any restructuring of the economic mechanism begins with a restructuring of the mind and the rejection of existing mental stereotypes. This is a complex and difficult problem. Making efforts in the field of theory is insufficient. The way of thinking can be restructured only if it is combined with the development of the theory and practice of economic management.

The status of the theoretical elaboration of problems of commodity-monetary relations is adversely affecting their utilization in planned economic management. What main conclusions can be drawn on the basis of the theoretical study of commodity-monetary relations in solving the practical problems of their planned utilization in the course of the restructuring of the economic mechanism?

The first is the need to restructure price-setting. The price system is a kind of "support structure" of the economic mechanism which operates on the basis of economic management methods. It is a system of controlling parameters through which basic economic structures interreact. However, the current prices must be radically improved. We must bear in mind that, as a monetary form of value, the price is also the focal point, the synthesis of the economic interest of commodity producers and consumers. Commodity producers are interested in high price levels. This is natural, for this makes it easier to fulfill plan indicators of volume of output, profit, profitability, etc. Commodity consumers, generally speaking, are interested in the lowest possible prices which would ensure the efficient use of the commodities. How can this objective contradiction be solved in economic management practices? The best way to solve this contradiction and its reproduction is to market commodities at prices which would provide normally working enterprises with adequate profitability and at which consumers would save on outlays and lower the cost of their own output.

The planned steps which would ensure that price levels reflect the interest of consumers failed to yield necessary results in our country in the past (with

the exception of the mid 1920s and the 1947-1954 period). Nor are they yielding expected results today: as in the past, the interest of producers dominate in the price-setting process and the sovereignty of the consumer is violated.

The unsubstantiated increase in prices by enterprises and associations is a widespread phenomenon. As we know, increasing prices is not only not encouraged but is even a punishable offense. For that reason the enterprises act circuitously: they artificially increase production costs of noncomparable goods by including in them disproportionately high volumes of overhead and raising cost coefficients of raw materials, auxiliary items and power; they ascribe to old commodities, after insignificant and, in some cases, simply symbolic changes, consumer qualities of new items and are thus able officially to increase prices. Investigations and expert evaluations have indicated that about one-third of all draft wholesale prices submitted for the approval by the USSR State Committee for Prices are "cut down" by 20-30 percent or even more in the case of some commodities.

M.S. Gorbachev pointed out this tendency of price increases in his speech at the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. "Comrades," he said, "let me warn you that this is an exceptionally dangerous trend. Artificial price increases do not cure economic diseases but merely corrupt workers and hinder technical progress. Higher prices, which are based on outlays, conceal shortcomings in production technology and organization and create scorn for the search for efficient economic management methods."

In order to ensure a lowering of wholesale prices based on the unit of useful results, a series of steps are currently being contemplated. They include lowering wholesale prices of commodities as they become obsolete; setting planned prices based on production costs not during the first but the second and even third year of their production in series; and the practice of setting price ceilings. However, such steps will not yield the desired results essentially because of the timidity with which they are being applied.

Competitiveness among producers in meeting the demand of consumers and the steady and active interaction between "equal" commodity producers and consumers are necessary prerequisites for economic efficiency. A consumer with the right to choose is the most interested and strict controller. However, the current system of two price lists (wholesale and retail) violates the interests of producers and consumers, for changes in retail prices by no means always lead to changes in wholesale prices. That is why the producer of substandard or even simply defective goods bear no material responsibility, which is shifted to the state budget. This procedure must be radically changed or replaced by other systems which will make producers responsible for and interested in the manufacturing of high quality inexpensive goods.

The formulation and implementation of efficient steps which would prevent the unsubstantiated increase in prices and ensure their lowering per unit of useful effect or, briefly, prices which would reflect the interest of both producers and consumers would be, in our view, the main prerequisite for the restructuring of the economic mechanism on a firm foundation.

The second important conclusion is the vital need to eliminate the scarcity of a number of important industrial and consumer commodities. As the experience in the development of the economies of the USSR and the other socialist countries proves, the phenomenon of scarcity should not be considered inherent in socialism (see V.A. Medvedev, "Upravleniye Sotsialisticheskim Proizvodstvom: Problemy Teorii i Praktiki" [Socialist Production Management: Problems of Theory and Practice]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1983, pp 165-200). However, the elimination of such phenomena in the economy would take a long time. Meanwhile, increased demand over supply is having an adverse effect on the pace of economic development and hinders increased production efficiency. Scarcity creates the opportunity for unjustified price increases, manufacturing of substandard goods with impunity or even simply selling obviously defective items. It encourages the development of unnecessary stocks of material resources and manpower reserves, and forces enterprises to engage in cashless bartering of their goods. As O.R. Latsis convincingly writes, surplus stocks worth many billions of rubles (see KOMMUNIST, No 13, 1986, p 39) have become an additional source of surplus funds in national economic circulation. Scarcity disturbs the rhythm of the production process and contractual delivery deadlines; it weakens the planned foundations of socialist production. Finally, the fact that demand exceeds supply provides a nutritive ground for the growth of speculation, bribery, economic abuse and crime. The scarcity of consumer goods weakens the stimulating function of wages and hinders the implementation of the principle of distribution according to labor and social justice.

Scarcity can be eliminated by taking a set of steps, not all of them economic. Above all, we must restructure the system of material and technical procurements and develop direct long-term relations between producers and consumers on a contractual basis, as stipulated in the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress. Wholesale trade in industrial commodities must be developed energetically. This was already stipulated in the resolutions of the 23rd CPSU Congress. However, such resolutions are being implemented unsatisfactorily. The existing organization of material and technical supplies acts like a kind of rationing system in the area of the means of production. It is a steadily operating generator of scarcity. It is not astounding that during some years the entire growth of the national income has almost equaled the increase in above-norm stocks of material values in the country. Naturally, the development of wholesale trade will require substantial efforts. However, it is necessary.

We must take into consideration the effect of the objective law of monetary circulation. A surplus of cash in economic circulation encourages scarcity. In this case, monetary circulation which, according to Lenin, should be a means of testing the accuracy of economic relations, no longer performs this function. The excessive increase in the amount of money in circulation undermines material incentives for the growth of labor productivity and leads to price increases on the kolkhoz market.

Our financial authorities see to maintaining a proper correlation between the growth rates of labor productivity and wages in the various economic sectors and enterprises; this, however, is insufficient. We must also compare among and control the correlation between the growth of population monetary income

in the national economy as a whole and the increased production of consumer goods and paid services made available to the population.

Economists are discussing the possible use of a price system in balancing supply with demand. There is a view according to which the scarcity of a consumer goods could be eliminated by increasing production or importing high quality inexpensive goods. But what would happen if we fail to accomplish this in the long run? It seems to us that if we weigh all pros and cons, we should more daringly make use of prices in terms of their function of balancing supply with demand. Prices must flexibly react to the dynamics of socially necessary outlays and their correlation with various commodities, and to changes in the correlation between supply and demand. This is confirmed not only by the experience of our own country but also that of other socialist countries, such as Bulgaria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. We agree with the views expressed by T.I. Zaslavskaya and S.S. Shatalin (see KOMMUNIST, Nos 13 and 14, 1986) and other economists on the expediency of raising retail prices of animal husbandry goods. Naturally, this should not lead to an overall decline in the population's living standard. In addition to the arguments brought forth by these authors, let us point out that the system of subsidizing procurement organizations excludes their conversion to true cost accounting.

Finally, another important prerequisite for eliminating scarcity is enhancing the scientific standard of centralized management in order to balance economic development.

The third, which is urgently necessary today, is the practical utilization of commodity-monetary relations in firmly expanding the limits of autonomy of associations and enterprises and their conversion to true cost accounting, self-recovery and self-financing, as stipulated in the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress. A major prerequisite for such conversion is applying economic management methods at the upper echelons of the economic structure. We must restructure the wage system in such a way that the earnings of all worker categories depend exclusively on their actual contribution and on the contribution of the labor collective as a whole in the production of high quality finished items, i.e., the satisfaction of social needs and consumer demand. The only guaranteed part should be a percentage of the overall earnings; the balance should depend on the results of selling the goods to the final consumer. This part should be quite substantial and capable of interesting the worker in improving labor productivity and quality. At the present time the link between the results of activities in one labor collective or another or of its individual members (based on their contribution to the satisfaction of social needs) and the amount of material rewards has been drastically weakened. In our view, this is the main reason for the inertness and lack of initiative displayed by some labor collectives and individual workers. That is why the most important and decisive prerequisite for upgrading the role of the human factor is ensuring on all levels of our economic system a correlation between labor results and wages, i.e., the systematic implementation of the principle of distribution according to labor.

Self-recovery and self-financing of associations and enterprises, which define the limits of their autonomy, are intrinsic features of true cost accounting.

At the present time nearly 55 percent of the profit earned by industrial enterprises goes to the state budget and only 45 percent remain at their disposal. Such funds are spent mainly in setting up economic incentive funds, repaying long-term bank loans and paying the interest on them. Only a small part goes into capital investments and into increasing enterprise turnover funds. As to technical retooling and use of optimal technologies, this is done essentially out of budget allocations.

The situation of self-financing enterprises, such as the Sumy Machine Building Scientific-Production Association imeni M.V. Frunze and the Volga Automotive Vehicles Plant, is different. For example, in the former only 27 percent of the profit is paid to the budget and 73 percent remains experimentally at the disposal of the association itself. This allows the enterprise to pay for all expenditures for technical retooling and expansion. The results prove the successful nature of the experiment.

The importance of indicators such as profit and profitability must be substantially enhanced in the case of associations and enterprises operating on the basis of cost accounting, self-recovery and self-financing. Profit is the result obtained by society from the activities of enterprises after subtracting production costs. Under the conditions of true cost accounting a profit can be earned only as a result of the successful marketing of the goods purchased by the end consumer. Consequently, based on the variety, quality and delivery deadlines the commodity must mandatorily meet consumer requirements. The control exercised by the consumer, combined with the system of state acceptance of commodities in industry, will be an important factor in upgrading production quality. The marketing of goods is the final proof of the social nature of labor invested in their production. Increased profits (with stable or reduced prices) reflect the efforts of enterprises in the struggle for lowering production costs (and, therefore, conserving raw and other materials, upgrading labor productivity and technical progress, lowering overhead, etc.), and accelerating capital turnover. The correlation between profit and the cost of fixed capital is an accurate indicator of the efficiency of output not only on the enterprise and association levels but, although with a number of stipulations, on the sectorial and national economic ones.

What was said on the subject of profits pertains only if the prices of commodities manufactured by a given enterprise are scientifically substantiated, i.e., if they reflect, above all, both the interests of producers and consumers.

The profound restructuring of the economic mechanism which is taking place will set new working conditions for our enterprises. The adoption of the Law on the Socialist Enterprise (Association) must juridically protect the labor collectives from bureaucratic administration, petty regulations, and incompetent and irresponsible interference in the work of labor collectives. As M.S. Gorbachev said, "Prerequisites will be created for the efficient activities of the key economic unit, on the basis of total cost accounting and

self-financing and socialist self-government, including the creation of councils of enterprises, similar to brigade councils." Unquestionably, the Law on the Socialist Enterprise will have a great impact on enhancing the human factor in this basic unit of the economic system.

The fourth important conclusion is related to the restructuring of the planning system, taking into consideration the systematic use of commodity-monetary relations in national economic management. The main trends of the restructuring were defined in the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the materials of the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and M.S. Gorbachev's Khabarovsk speech. Centralized management and administration, based on the requirements of objective economic laws, must be directed toward the solution of strategic problems: accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and scientific and technical progress, ensuring the proportional and balanced nature of the national economic complex on the sectorial and regional levels, consistency between the economic mechanism and the nature of problems to be solved and the enhancement of the human factor. The role of value computations must be enhanced in the formulation of planning decisions. This calls for improving statistical information and perfecting methods for calculating price indicators.

Under circumstances of true cost accounting, associations and enterprises must plan their own production and marketing, based on economic standards, economic contracts and consumer demand. Only then can the production process be oriented toward meeting social needs.

Economic standards are developed on a centralized basis. They include prices, profit withholdings, standards governing the formation of wage funds, interest rates on loans, amortization standards, efficiency of capital investments and other value norms. Ministries will be able to make the necessary changes in plans of enterprises and associations. In such cases, however, they will mandatorily have to economically encourage consent for such changes. For the time being, not all of the specific forms of interrelationships among the individual units within the national economic complex, both "vertical" and "horizontal" are clear. They will become entirely defined only in the course of their practical testing.

The problem of the systematic utilization of the entire arsenal of commodity-monetary relations in the restructuring of the economic mechanism can be successfully solved only on a comprehensive basis, in close connection with the solution of the other economic and social problems related to the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development.

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SOCIAL EFFICIENCY OF ECONOMIC DECISIONS

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[Article by L. Degtyar, doctor of economic sciences, and G. Yaremenko, candidate of economic sciences]

[Text] A discussion on problems related to the better utilization of social factors of social production efficiency has been taking place in KOMMUNIST (Nos 13, 14, 15, 17 for 1986). These problems are topics of study and practical solutions in other socialist countries as well. The experience acquired by each one of them becomes available to all. In this connection, the practice of the implementation of social development tasks in the European members of CEMA is of unquestionable interest.

The task has been set of converting social development into a powerful factor for the upsurge of the labor and sociopolitical activeness of the masses. This means the selection of ways and means of upgrading the well-being which presume not only the satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the individual but also the shaping of a qualitatively new ability and adopting a new attitude toward labor, as required by scientific and technical progress and intensification.

The common features and principles of social policy are implemented under the specific conditions of the development of each country. This influences the pace at which the level of well-being is intensified and determines differences in the extent to which individual problems are solved and in the choice of methods, means and sequences in the implementation of social objectives. It is on the basis of this variety, while the basic laws of socialism remain common, that the members of the socialist community develop their collective experience, some aspects of which will be considered in this article.

Employment

Ensuring full employment for the population under the conditions of production intensification and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress is an important and relatively new problem in terms of our theory and practice.

Its solution calls for the development of a socioeconomic mechanism for the reassigning of manpower consistent with socialism. Although we cannot say that as yet any of the European CEMA members has set up such a mechanism, the CEMA countries are engaged in theoretical and practical research in this area and have acquired a certain degree of experience.

This experience has indicated that the creation of a socioeconomic mechanism for the release and reassignment of manpower is both a long-term and a practical current task. The lack of a flexible system for cadre retraining and forms of their material support and methods for planned hiring erects social and political barriers on the way to the release of manpower even if it is scarce. Manpower shortages may remain and increase alongside complications in finding jobs for some groups of workers.

The establishment of a unified state job placement system plays a most important role in accelerating the process of manpower transfers. Such a system already exists in the majority of CEMA countries. Its distinguishing feature is its close ties with the local authorities. The strengthening of such ties is a trend common to them all.

In Czechoslovakia, for example, essentially the national committees, which are the labor departments of the local authorities, have been entrusted with complete responsibility for the assignment and utilization of manpower in their area. Since 1971 a unified system for controlling employment and manpower allocation has existed in the country, updated on a 5-year basis. The labor departments play a decisive role in its implementation. They issue enterprises (organizations) permission to recruit new workers during the year and, at the same time, supply them with information on the existence of available manpower in the area. The labor departments of the national committee are in charge of procuring manpower for new construction and closing down obsolete production facilities. They control the use of manpower at enterprises, supervise the need for cadres in their area, according to profession and level of skill and people for whom jobs must be found; they organize the vocational guidance of young people and control their training and job placement after graduation. The enterprises submit to the national committee information on planned release of manpower. The committee may block such decisions if the necessary conditions for retraining and job placement have not been established.

From the viewpoint of ensuring close cooperation between enterprises and local authorities in the efficient utilization of labor resources, the experience of the Strassfurt district in the GDR is of interest. Here, for the first time a long-term territorial concept for the efficient utilization of the manpower potential has been drafted, coordinating enterprise cadre policy with the interests of the district and the national economy as a whole. One of the main problems here is to strengthen the planned nature of the release and reassignment of manpower, coordinated with the needs of the district (between 1981 and 1985, every year within the Strassfurt district approximately 3.5 percent of the employed population were reassigned either within the same enterprise or to other enterprises). Thanks to the planned concept, each enterprise knows how many and what type of workers it must release (or, correspondingly, receive from other enterprises), on what to concentrate its

attention in vocational training and upgrading cadre skills, and what the results of rationalization should be. The local authorities now receive better information on the specific accomplishments of enterprises in improving production efficiency, meeting basic requirements for vocational training and availability of reserves. With a planned concept at their disposal, the local labor authorities regulate the activities of the system for cadre training and skill upgrading.

Close cooperation between local authorities and enterprises makes it possible for any released worker to be retrained or acquire the necessary training. Great attention is paid to enabling the people to use their knowledge and capabilities at their new jobs. The labor rationalization process is considered completed only after the released worker has been given a new job consistent with his skill and interest and is working with total dedication. At the present time this concept has been adopted in many parts of the country and is refined on an annual basis.

The development of a unified governmental job placement system in CEMA countries is following a trend of increasingly assigning the labor authorities full responsibility for the allocation and utilization of manpower in their area. It has become unanimously agreed that enterprises (establishments, organizations) must be totally freed from such obligations. They must be interested in releasing surplus manpower and initiating its retraining and reassigning. It is believed that the first step should be a system according to which the enterprise will release a worker only after a new job has been found for him. In this case as well, however, finding a job within a firmly stipulated deadline, organizing cadre retraining and, if necessary, showing initiative leading to the opening of new jobs and adopting flexible working systems for some groups of workers is the obligation of the regional labor authorities. To this effect, it is deemed necessary that the rights and obligations of the territorial labor authorities and the enterprises (establishments, organizations), in terms of each other and toward the released workers, must be clearly defined. Finally, the labor authorities must be given the necessary material and financial means to do their job.

The solution of the problem of transferring large groups of workers released as a result of increased labor and production efficiency and their retraining and reassignment on a national scale involves certain material outlays which are compensated by higher efficiency of public production. In CEMA countries such funds are directed above all into giving material assistance and incentive to the released worker. As a rule, he retains his previous salary during the period of retraining and adaptation to his new job. This compensates the person for the efforts related to changing jobs and prevents any diminution of his social status and living standard; it creates conditions and incentives for improving his qualifications or skills or else acquiring a new profession.

The question arises of who should bear such costs. In most countries, for the time being the cost has been borne by the enterprises. Of late, however, a trend has been noted toward setting up unified state-wide funds. In Bulgaria, for example, a special cadre vocational skill and reassignment fund has been set up by the Committee for Labor and Social Problems, with funds contributed

by all economic organizations (including agroindustrial complexes), by withholding 0.5 percent of their planned annual wage fund. A special fund was set up in Hungary in 1983 from state budget revenue, to compensate for loss of wages during the period of retraining and other related enterprise expenditures.

As the experience of CEMA countries indicates, the intensification of such processes also requires extensive ideological and educational work in restructuring social awareness and developing a readiness to change jobs and even skills and for steady improvements in worker skills. Socialism guarantees the full employment of the active population and will guarantee it with all means at the disposal of society also during conditions of production intensification and acceleration of scientific and technical progress. However, a guarantee of full employment under the new circumstances must not be interpreted as a guarantee that everyone will remain in the same job regardless of economic expediency.

Labor Contribution and Wages

Another set of topical social problems is based on the need for a more systematic implementation of the socialist principle of distribution according to labor. Only by strengthening this interdependence can the systematic assertion of social justice and the increased influence of consumption on public production efficiency become possible. That is why problems of maintaining a direct link between labor contribution and wages is the focal point of attention in current and long-term social programs of CEMA members. What makes this problem even more important and relevant is also the fact that during the preceding stages in building socialism links between labor and consumption were weakened, both on the level of the entire society as well as that of the individual worker. This led to the spreading of equalization and the appearance of private-ownership, parasitical and consumerist feelings and unearned income. These negative phenomena, alien to the nature of the socialist system, were noted at the latest congresses of communist and worker parties.

Establishing a real correlation between labor and consumption on the enterprise level is achieved by firmly tying wage funds (wage and incentive funds) to results of economic activities. The experience of CEMA members in this area is quite varied. The GDR and Romania, for example, use centralized planning of labor and wage fund indicators. In the 1980s these countries strengthened the orientation of plan indicators toward end results and the interconnection between the actual volume of wage funds (within the limits of the planned amounts and specific production results. Thus, in the GDR the planned wage fund can be fully used only if the plan for labor productivity, commodity output and number of employees has been fulfilled. In Romania, the size of the wage fund is closely tied to the physical indicators of the plan; managerial salaries are also related to delivering good for export, quality and meeting the standards set for outlays of material, raw material and power. In Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria the wage fund is related to increases in net output or gross income. In the other countries the necessary correlation between results of economic activities and the size of the wage fund are maintained with the help of the indirect regulation of profits or gross

income, taxation of the overall or partial income and use of a system for encouraging better results of economic activities. It is pointed out in this case that such a method for controlling the wage fund helps to upgrade the responsibility of enterprises for the level of earnings, granting them substantially greater autonomy in the choice of ways of earning such funds and in their distribution. The use of such methods contributes to the fast harnessing of possibilities. However, it presumes a high level of cost accounting organization of the production process, well organized financial control over enterprise activities, flexible price-setting, an established system of relations between enterprises and the budget, increasing the rights of labor collectives in wage fund allocations, regulating personnel dynamics within the enterprise, and retraining and releasing surplus manpower.

As to increasing the dependence of wages on individual labor contributions, the following specific trends are being followed in this area by the CEMA members: a conversion to the new wage rates (salaries) within the limits of the stipulated wage fund by harnessing internal reserves; intensified differentiation within the wage rate, based on grades in wages, depending on the quality and efficiency of the work; payments according to the wage rate only if the worker has fulfilled his production obligations, or reduced payments in the opposite case: tying basic management salaries to enterprise results.

The last two trends presume not only a direct link between the basic wage and labor results but also greater material responsibility on the part of everyone for such results. What are the specific practices of CEMA members in this area? In Bulgaria, for example, if specific planned assignments are not met (for foreign exchange revenue, labor productivity, maintaining profitability and material outlay standards per 100 leva commodity output, etc.), the wages of the leading personnel and specialists may be reduced by 20 percent. In Romania, should an enterprise or production subdivision fail to fulfill its plan for commodity output, production costs and labor productivity, the wages of workers, regardless of category, may be reduced by up to 20 percent. The system of individual material responsibility for the results of activities also requires the efficient functioning of the economic mechanism, in order maximally to exclude any negative influences on the result of labor activities caused by objective circumstances.

The collective experience of CEMA member countries proves that despite the great importance of any further improvements in the ways and means of payments for labor, presently the creation of corresponding socioeconomic conditions for applying the principle of distribution according to labor plays an important role in strengthening the link between individual contributions to production and consumption. This experience proves that this precisely is one of the main factors in the further enhancement of all opportunities for labor incentives, included in the new wage methods introduced in recent years.

Thus, increasing worker activities requires not only some tangible wage increases with greater labor returns but also an adequate wage level, for there is a specific line below which incentives become ineffective. Proper wages for conscientious labor, consistent with the socially normal requirements of the worker and his family, based on labor income, are the

foundation for an efficient social policy, for without this the labor morale and dignity of the working people cannot be maintained. The experience of the socialist countries with the highest labor productivity and living standard proves that the people's high labor returns, conscientiousness and work discipline are directly related to their satisfaction with their wages, which reflect the rating of their work and the fact that the labor income they earn can provide the necessary conditions for a high living standard of people employed in public production.

The CEMA countries themselves do not consider that these problems have been entirely solved. Some inadequately paid types of work remain, which do not make many jobs prestigious or sufficient to allow the family to maintain socially normal standards with a wage from the basic job (in particular, one of the adverse consequences of underestimating some types of work has been the practice of unofficial additional earnings from one's job). The solution of the problem of a proper reward for labor and material incentive and, in the final account, the enhancement of the human factor, depend, above all, on the scale of national economic resources channeled into the consumption area and the balancing of income with available goods, and only then streamlining wages in a given sector or enterprise. For the time being, not all CEMA members have developed a sufficiently saturated market for consumer goods, which would make it possible to enhance social policy. Practical experience proves that the practice of holding back wage raises, which became widespread in a number of countries and is manifested in underestimating highly skilled labor and equalization, is directly related to the scarcity of consumer resources, and that changes in this practice are possible only if a purposeful income policy is backed by providing normal conditions for its implementation.

Supply and Demand

A major step was taken in the reallocation of resources in favor of the social sphere in the 1970s, during the period of conversion by CEMA members to production intensification: major social programs were adopted and implemented, which included measures aimed at substantially upgrading incomes and developing the consumer sectors. The growth of agricultural production, animal husbandry in particular, and group "B" industry was accelerated in most countries; the technical base of the light and food industry sectors was substantially updated. This made it possible to achieve substantial changes in eliminated the imbalance between solvent demand and available goods. In countries such as Hungary, the GDR and Czechoslovakia, a balance in the domestic market was achieved in terms of volume and the problem appeared of making supply consistent with demand in terms of structure.

The efforts made during that stage to develop the consumer sectors contributed to the fact that under the difficult circumstances of subsequent 5-year periods, when said countries faced the need extensively to harness export resources in order to solve their fuel-raw material problems, which also required the use of resources of the domestic consumer market, they were able to avoid supply shortages and to balance their income. The experience of these countries proves that maintaining a stable growth of sectors producing consumer goods, increasing the production of high-quality items and achieving

varietal flexibility play a decisive role in achieving a durable balance between solvent demand and commodity stocks.

The majority of CEMA countries were able to meet in full the needs of the population for food and the availability of basic food resources of domestic origin. High standards have been reached in the production and consumption of basic food staples in Hungary, the GDR and Czechoslovakia. The consumption of a major food staple, such as meat, is on a level consistent with rational nutritional standards (96 kilograms in the GDR, 86 in Czechoslovakia and 77 in Hungary). In addition to meeting demand for mass nutritional products, as a rule, variety increased significantly; availability of delicacies increased paralleling the growth (with a higher income) of population demand. Small-scale output plays an important role in saturating the market with good products in most CEMA countries.

Food requirements can be met not only by increasing availability to the level of socially normal standards but also by channeling into durable goods. The experience of CEMA members, of Poland at the beginning of the 1970s above all, indicates that even with a sufficiently high level of food consumption, demand could increase if the market for nondurable goods remains small. Thus, the per capita meat consumption level in Poland increased by 17 kilograms in 5 years, reaching 78 kilograms in 1975; however, demand could not be met and scarcity worsened, whereas in other countries, with a same level of consumption, a relative saturation of demand was noted.

In most CEMA countries population demand for light industry goods is met in full. Most of the commodities are of domestic manufacturing. Varietal insufficiency is compensated with imports. The light industry sectors also have a certain export potential, which makes it possible to broaden the domestic market by importing goods from other countries. The problem of the quality of light industry goods still concerns the CEMA members. However, the steady improvements made in the technical base of the sector offer conditions for the timely restructuring of production facilities, such as to meet contemporary fashion requirements and prevent the accumulation of unsold goods.

The possibility of meeting current demand, including demand for particularly fashionable items, is ensured by maintaining a high pace of renovation of output and regular varietal changes. The contemporary progressive enterprises in CEMA countries, engaged in the production of consumer goods, have long answered the question of where to study demand: in the areas of production or trade, and thus to prevent the accumulation of unsalable products and promptly to initiate the restructuring of production facilities.

Practical experience indicates that a modern enterprise can no longer be content with following demand. In order to be able to change styles and develop promising prototypes on time, the enterprise must have its own design facilities so that the production process may not simply be oriented toward possible future changes in demand but also to shape such changes, guide inevitable changes in fashion and offer the consumer the latest results of technical progress. Such is precisely the type of work done by enterprises whose output never remains unsold.

For example, the goods produced by the Otavan Clothing Association in Czechoslovakia, most of them exported, not only meet contemporary taste but dictate fashion themselves. This is possible by the fact that the association has its own development department in which every month a technology is developed for the production of some models, selected among dozens of sketches, and new items reach the assembly line each 10 days.

In the GDR as well producers make a major contribution to the study of demand and to the balancing of the domestic market. For example, combines specializing in the production of household commodities are responsible for correlating the volume of output with demand not only for their own enterprises but also for enterprises in which the same items are produced on an auxiliary basis and which are less familiar with demand. The specialized enterprise regularly updates its output, stopping the production of older models and mandatorily finding a new producer for the same item if it is still in demand.

In maintaining the balance on the domestic market, the CEMA members were confronted with some negative aspects as well. Due to surplus funds an unjustified orientation developed in the supply area toward meeting above all the demand of "high-income" consumer; the production and import of expensive and luxury items increased at a fast pace. This contributed to the growth of the prestige consumption phenomenon. This required paying greater attention to streamlining the variety of goods and meeting the demand of consumers at different income levels. This was achieved by establishing a volume of output of inexpensive items, regulated with special decrees in the case of Hungary, the GDR and Czechoslovakia.

The policy of differentiated and flexible retail prices plays an important role in the policy of income and a balanced consumer market. On the one hand, it is called upon to ensure the availability of a wide range of modern goods for the mass consumer, for it is this that determines his labor activeness; on the other hand, its purpose is to broaden the range of prices of the various consumer goods, thus meeting the demand of different income groups.

Of late, most foreign CEMA members have adopted a policy of flexible retail price controls. Prices of some foodstuffs, meat above all, were raised in order to bring them closer to production costs. The practice of compensatory payments was instituted so that price increases would not affect the population's well-being. As a rule, such payments entirely cover higher costs in the case of low-income population groups.

At the same time, a certain increase in the overall price level became, as was the case in Hungary, one of the steps in income the policy. Thus, in the past 5 years, with the accelerated harnessing of export opportunities, the increase in consumption resources and real income was planned to average no more than 1-1.5 percent annually. The growth of the average wage, based on production requirements, was to be significantly higher. The dropping of unjustified restrictions on increasing income from labor and the need to balance purchasing power with actual resources demand a respective increase in retail prices (thus, in Hungary, between 1981 and 1985, whereas real income increased

by 8 percent, as planned, nominal wages of workers and employees increased by 34 percent and commodity retail prices by 38 percent).

We must emphasize, however, that although the price policy maintains a balanced market on the already reached level, the specific steps taken to increase the price of the individual commodities in CEMA countries are not considered a means of surmounting scarcity but, as a rule, are accompanied by increasing the availability of goods in mass demand, the flexible reorganization of production facilities oriented toward demand, etc.

Consumption Guidelines

The level of material sufficiency which was reached in CEMA member countries and the satisfaction of the most urgent needs for food, clothing and traditional and household appliances, called for shaping trends for the further development of consumer choice, replacing the uniform stereotype of shaping the consumption structure and setting up long-term targets in this area. With production intensification, it also became obvious that labor incentives based on interest in earning a higher income improve with the existence of substantial consumer guidelines and not only with a variety of goods available on the market; improved well-being, as a factor of labor activeness, becomes a permanent factor when the person, as his income raises, reaches the next higher step in consumer standards and the level of demand for quality changes in the consumption structure.

Contemporary practical experience in foreign CEMA members included in its long-term guidelines that of attaining high quality in current consumption and the mass use of the latest durable goods, first among which are a private car, housing, recreation and consumer services.

In the past 15 years, car purchases by the population developed at an extremely fast pace. Since 1970 the number of family cars tripled in the GDR and Czechoslovakia and increased by a factor of 5-6 in the other CEMA countries. Mass car buying became possible mainly by making some models more available and extensively popularizing "people's" automobiles. In Czechoslovakia, for example, Skodas were sold on credit on extremely easy terms, without a down payment. Currently, approximately one-half of all families in the GDR and Czechoslovakia own a car; more than one-third own cars in Bulgaria and Hungary, about 30 percent in Poland and about 15 percent in Romania (based on the experience of the CEMA members, we may conclude that a decline in demand for automobiles noted in our country in recent years, and a lower level of acquisition of automobiles by the population, proves that the demand of the high-income groups has been satisfied and that we must significantly increase the availability of lower-price models and types of cars for the average-income population groups).

One of the main trends in the efficient social policy pursued by the CEMA members over the past 15 years has included an active housing policy based on accelerated housing construction with the mass use of population funds and improved housing allocation methods. In the 1970s, in the majority of these countries the annual availability exceeded eight apartments per 1,000 population; the share of housing financed with capital other than that of the

state increased substantially, having reached at the present time more than 80 percent in Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia, and approximately 50 percent in Bulgaria and the GDR.

This contributed to major improvements in the availability of housing (26 square meters of useful area of per person in the GDR, 22 in Czechoslovakia, approximately 19 in Bulgaria and Hungary and 17 in Poland); progress was made in providing each family with its own housing unit (which will be completed by 1990 in the GDR and Czechoslovakia, where the right to separate housing is guaranteed to any person 18 or older).

In most CEMA countries, free state housing is available for those whose income has not reached the stipulated standard. Individual and cooperative housing construction has become the main way of acquiring housing for most of the population. The advantages of this system are that the population was given the opportunity of obtaining housing faster thus catching up with meeting other material requirements. The system of paying for such housing is structured in accordance with the material status of the different population strata, makes it widely accessible. Thus, in addition to state loans, which account for 50 to 70 percent (varying among individual countries) of the cost of a unit, subsidies are also provided by the enterprises and the state, thanks to which the down payment was lowered to 10 percent in the GDR, 10-15 percent in Hungary, 16 in Czechoslovakia, 10-30 in Poland, 20-30 in Romania and 25 percent in Bulgaria. The very long loan terms, ranging from 25 to 60 years (according to the country) has lowered mortgage payments in most countries to no more than 1-1.5 percent of the annual apartment rent.

Additional facilities are contemplated for young families, taking into consideration the fact that their current expenditures may be limited but that their possibility of meeting their mortgage payments are quite promising. In a number of CEMA countries various forms of labor participation by young people in house building and updating are also contemplated. The creation of conditions for the faster acquisition of separate housing for young people in a number of countries has contributed to the major positive changes in demographic behavior, and enhanced labor activeness, cadre stabilization and social satisfaction.

Such housing policy reflects one of the approaches to solving problems in combining free with paid distribution of goods and expanded variety of goods purchased with earned funds. The social and economic efficiency of the steps aimed at making paid housing the predominant system is confirmed not only by the practically tested adequacy of such steps in accelerating the solution of the housing problem but by other important factors as well. The cost of housing, as the most important consumer good, which is an essential part of the budget, becomes one of the greatest incentives for increasing labor activeness and contributes to the faster solution of the problem of maintaining a commodity-monetary balance. The more extensive dissemination of this practice in CEMA countries has resulted in an increased similarity in the level of expenditures by the various population groups for housing, thus achieving greater justice. The overwhelming majority of the rural population and a considerable percentage of urban residents have traditionally acquired their housing through individual construction. Thus, approximately 75 percent

of housing in Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR and Poland has been built with the population's own funds. This also sets the principles of the new system according to which the population with a higher income spends more on housing, whereas the retired, large families and other lower-income population strata can have such housing on easier terms or free of charge.

The mass popularization of paid housing was paralleled in the CEMA countries by a revision of rents for publicly-owned housing and a reduction and total elimination of state housing subsidies. The current level of the population's income makes it possible to meet in full the cost of house upkeep and to convert to nonsubsidized housing. To this effect, in recent years rents have been raised in Hungary, Poland and Romania. Thus, since 1983 state housing rents in Hungary have been increased by an average of a factor of 2.3 and significantly differentiated according to the category of housing, location, etc. Within the same period family expenditures for rents have increased, for the time being, significantly less, for large families and the retired were fully compensated; the compensation for the other families has been on the 70-percent level. Such compensations will be gradually reduced over a 5-year period.

The experience of the CEMA members proves that recreation will assume increasing importance within the system of long-term consumer guidelines. Since a significant portion of the population lives in the cities, the need for recreation (including during the week as well) is met with the help of having privately-owned cottages in the country or on the basis of organized recreation. In Czechoslovakia and the GDR 25 percent of families have their own small cottages or garden plots. At the same time, organized recreation is being developed extensively. The number of people currently using resting homes alone exceeds 14 percent of the entire population in Bulgaria, 11 percent in Hungary and the GDR, 10 percent in Poland, 8 percent in Romania and 4 percent in Czechoslovakia. Available facilities for family recreation, boarding houses and hotels has increased significantly. Modern tourist services are being developed extensively; areas for car travelers, camping grounds, and so on, are being established everywhere. Cooperation among CEMA members in the use of resorts and resort sites has been increased significantly. For example, the population of the GDR and Poland makes extensive use of the rich resources of the Bulgarian seashore, and the mountain balneological resorts of Czechoslovakia. In order to ensure the more efficient and economical utilization of social consumption funds, a number of countries are eliminating benefits which have exhausted their purpose of assisting lower-income population strata and have been increasingly benefiting higher-income groups. In particular, that was the reason for which several CEMA countries restructured their free or subsidized travel voucher system.

The importance of income from additional labor during spare time--at one's job, in small-scale production and trade, and in services--has increased as a result of limiting centralized wage fund increases, particularly in Bulgaria, Hungary and Poland. Since such activities are related primarily to the creation of consumer goods, this also ensures the expansion of the consumer market. Such earnings have become a controversial topic. However, we must bear in mind that income earned during one's spare time is based on individual labor.

The need for additional earnings appears in some population groups, the young for instance, and during some periods in life when considerable funds are needed to purchase housing and other goods which have become attributes of a modern way of life. Holding two jobs has become a widespread feature in a number of CEMA countries. Its forms are particularly varied in Hungary. Studies conducted in that country indicated that approximately three-quarters of all families had such income and that the overwhelming majority used it to meet current needs, such as the acquisition of housing and durable goods, and so on. Only a small percentage of families were able to accumulate substantial funds through such earnings. Additional work is considered a temporary measure, the need for which is eliminated by increasing the income earned from public production jobs. The legal nature of such earnings makes it possible to control its size and regulate it through taxation.

Nevertheless, the increase in "second" jobs has also had negative consequences, which have not been ignored by the CEMA countries. This applies, above all, to excessive stress, reflected in the quality of work and the health of the individual. Furthermore, a certain percentage of the population which is deprived of the possibility of engaging in such work finds itself in a worse material condition. However, reducing such activities under the present circumstances means, as it is believed in these countries, reducing supplies and worsening overall population services.

Such are some of the aspects of the collective experience, considered in the light of the current debate in this journal.

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STORY OF A MILITARY LEADER. ON THE OCCASION OF THE 90TH ANNIVERSARY OF G.K.
ZHUKOV'S BIRTH

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 86 (signed to press 9 Dec 86) pp 100-106

[Article by P. Lushev, USSR first deputy minister of defense, army general;
on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of G.K. Zhukov's birth]

[Text] The farther the fiery years of the Great Patriotic War retreat into the past, the clearer the greatness of the military exploit of the Soviet people and the importance of the ideological and organizational role of the party which led it to victory become. The fact that in the prewar period the party raised and promoted to leading positions in the armed forces an entire galaxy of outstanding military leaders and commanders was a major factor in ensuring the crushing defeat of the German fascist aggressors. History is reflected in each one of these leaders, illuminating the main feature of their destinies, what they accomplished to win the victory and to strengthen the power and might of our homeland. We justifiably name as first among equals in this galaxy of communist soldiers Marshal of the Soviet Union Georgiy Konstantinovich Zhukov.

First among equals... He gained this position as a result of his inordinately broad understanding of phenomena and events in assessing military and military-political situations, depth of understanding the plans and actions of the enemy, realism in the analysis of the correlation of forces, inflexible will in attaining set objectives under most difficult circumstances, decisiveness in carrying out even the biggest operative and strategic assignments and ability to instill a spirit of creativity in the intent and content of combat operations. "Throughout all stages of the war," Marshal of the Soviet Union A.M. Vasilevskiy, his fellow-soldier, subsequently recalled, "in solving problems of strategic, operative or organizational nature, Marshal G.K. Zhukov was distinguished by principle-mindedness, a clear and sober mind, daring in making operative decisions, and the ability to assess the situation profoundly and accurately, rightly to forecast the situation and to determine the moment when a decisive strike could be dealt against the enemy. He displayed amazing coolness and sober assessment in making most important decisions. He had tremendous personal courage and self-possession."

A look at the life and activities of such an outstanding Soviet military leader is not only a legitimate due to his military glory and rich legacy in

the field of military theory but also an exposure to our history, to the best examples of the firmness of a communist, to dedicated service to the socialist fatherland and to a lofty feeling of duty, selflessness and patriotism. Zhukov, the leader and organizer, teaches us the skill to assume full responsibility, to formulate original and innovative approaches and solutions, and to analyze the situation profoundly and thoroughly and see it as it is. History has given us a great example in Zhukov, the soldier and the marshal, an example worthy of emulation by anyone who has chosen the profession of defender of the homeland.

V.I. Lenin emphasized that "the main power leading to all military successes on our fronts....was, precisely, that of organization," and that "there is a great deal of organizational talent in the working people... and in the future an increasing number of organizers will come out of this environment..." "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 40, p 225). Lenin's prediction was accurate: the prewar years and particularly the stormy period of the Great Patriotic War gave us examples of the development of such talents, which blossomed in their entirety. One of them, coming from the people, was Georgiy Konstantinovich Zhukov, the son of a poor peasant.

Zhukov, who volunteered for service in the red Army in August 1918, heroically fought in the fronts of the civil war, advancing from private to squadron commander, was awarded the highest and at that time rare Order of the Red Banner. He became a party member in 1919. "I have never forgotten the day I was accepted member of the party," he recalled. "Ever since that time, with all my thoughts, aspirations and actions I have tried to fulfill my obligations as party member, and when it became a matter of fighting the enemies of the homeland, as a communist I remembered our party's requirement of setting the example of dedicated service to my people."

During the 1920s, holding responsible command positions, Georgiy Konstantinovich persistently studied, trying to master the peaks of the martial art. In describing that period, Marshal of the Soviet Union K.K. Rokossovskiy noted that "Zhukov dedicated himself to the study of military science more than anyone else. Whenever we looked in on him he was on the floor studying maps. Already then duty to him stood higher than anything else." Following is testimony by another fellow-military commander, Marshal of the Soviet Union I.Kh. Bagramyan: "During tactical cavalry training Zhukov frequently amazed us with his surprises. He was an original thinker and in frequent cases his solutions would become the topic of heated discussions and arguments. His logical and orderly thinking allowed him successfully to counter the arguments not only of his fellow-soldiers but also of his instructors..." At that time G.K. Zhukov's paper on "Basic Factors Influencing the Theory of the Military Art" triggered a great deal of interest. It was the result of his thorough study of the works of the Marxist-Leninist classics, the legacy of A.V. Suvorov, A.A. Brusilov and Clausewitz, and his summation of the experience of the civil war.

His high qualities as a commander and persistent efforts to upgrade his theoretical knowledge beneficially influenced the combat and political training of the personnel of units and subunits under his command: invariably, they were rated as model in all reviews and exercises. "An

energetic and decisive commander.... Should be promoted brigade commander ahead of turn," we read in Zhukov's personal file for 1928.

To Georgiy Konstantinovich the years of building socialism in the 1930s, brimming with enthusiasm, were a period of his development as a major military commander. The party, which ascribed great importance to the training of superior military cadres, showed daily concern for the development of Soviet military science and for perfecting party political work in the armed forces. Guided by Lenin's stipulations on the scientific principles governing the building of a modern army, the VKP(b) Central Committee directed military cadres toward the profound interpretation and study of the theoretical problems of troop control under modern conditions. A progressive Soviet military-theory concept was developed, which provided scientific answers to the questions raised by practical experience in military building in the socialist state: on the nature of a future war, and means of waging an armed struggle, and the organizational structure of the armed forces as a consequence of their technical reequipping and troop-training methods.

Most important concepts in the fields of strategy, operative art and tactics had been raised and substantiated in the works of M.V. Frunze, A.I. Yegorov, S.S. Kamenev, V.K. Triandafillov, M.N. Tukhachevskiy, I.P. Uborevich, B.M. Shaposhnikov and other military commanders and theoreticians. The formulation of the theory of deep offensive operations, with the concentrated use of tanks, aviation, airborne landings and deep combat operations, developed in the mid-1930s, was an outstanding accomplishment of Soviet military theory. New views on the nature and means of carrying out combat operations were codified in statutes and instructions. All of this laid theoretical foundations for the training of highly skilled masters of military affairs.

G.K. Zhukov as well covered the long path of creatively mastering Soviet military science and military art. Courses for the advancement of high command personnel, independent study of problems of military theory and participation in operative games and command-staff exercises enriched Georgiy Konstantinovich with extensive and profound knowledge and contributed to the development of his military-theory concepts and command skills. He skillfully put his acquired knowledge to practical use in training the personnel of units and formations in times of peace and, when the time came, in combat and battles.

In the summer of 1939, when the Japanese militarists attacked friendly Mongolia in the area of the Khalkin Gol River, the party instructed G.K. Zhukov to organize the resistance to the aggressor. Zhukov brilliantly coped with this task, displaying for the first time his talent as a military commander in combat. Implementing their internationalist duty, commanded by Corps Commander Zhukov, together with Mongolian units, the Soviet forces utterly defeated the enemy within a short time: the main forces of the Sixth Japanese Army, which had invaded the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic, were surrounded and destroyed. The organizing and conduct of a modern army surrounding operation, involving the extensive use of technical means of struggle gave our troops valuable experience and contributed to the further development of Soviet military art. Zhukov's talent as a military commander and the firmness, daring and skill of the troops he commanded taught

the aggressor a lesson which had far-reaching military and political consequences.

In G.K. Zhukov the party and the government saw an extraordinary high-level military commander. He was made army general in June 1940 and appointed commanding officer of the Kiev Special Military District, the biggest at that time. In January 1941 he was promoted chief of general staff and deputy people's commissar of defense of the USSR. During the difficult and alarming period of the approaching threat of a fascist attack, while war was already raging in Europe and the Far East, displaying his typical energy, he participated in solving the most difficult problem of that time on which the People's Commissariat of Defense and the General Staff were working: how to make the most efficient use of the country's economic and military potential in repelling the inevitable aggression.

G.K. Zhukov was at the peak of his creative power and military talent when he faced the most severe trial which befell our people: the war unleashed on the USSR by German fascism, the strike force of imperialism. In the harsh confrontation with the strong, experienced and well trained enemy Zhukov displayed to their fullest extent those features of his character with which he entered history. The party sent him to the most difficult and most crucial sectors of the Soviet-German front, where the most important events were either developing or taking place, and where particularly difficult problems had to be solved. From the start of the war he was made member of Supreme Command Headquarters and, as of August 1942, first deputy people's commissar of defense and deputy supreme commander in chief.

During the first days of the war, as the representatives of Headquarters, together with the command of the Southwestern Front, G.K. Zhukov organized a counterstrike with the forces of several mechanized corps in the Brody area. This first tangible strike dealt by our forces defeated the attempt of the Hitlerite command to open the way to Kiev on the march, using mobile formations.

In July 1941, at the peak of the battle for Smolensk, as commander of the forces of the Reserve Front, Zhukov successfully conducted the Yelnya operation, one of the first offensives mounted during the Great Patriotic War. As a result of two-pronged outflanking and routing of enemy units, a dangerous salient from which the enemy intended to resume his offensive on Moscow was wiped out. This was the first substantial victory over the Wehrmacht. It was of great importance both from the operative point of view and in enhancing the fighting spirit of our armed forces and people.

At the beginning of September the situation which developed on the approaches to Leningrad was extremely tense: the enemy had come very close to the city, blocking it from the land and preparing for a decisive offensive. The defense of the city on the Neva demanded not only the extreme stressing of the moral and physical forces of the defending troops but also an authoritative and talented leader with an iron will. The State Defense Committee chose Zhukov, who was appointed commanding officer of the forces of the Leningrad Front.

Under the leadership of the commanding officer and in closest possible cooperation with the Leningrad party organization, the front's military council took decisive steps to enhance the combat capability of units and formations. An echeloned defense in depth was developed on the approaches to the city. Forces and materiel were regrouped as necessary and the efforts were concentrated on the most threatened sectors. The commander saw to it that his demand that the lines held become the strict law of the troops was accepted. The heroic defenders of Leningrad coped with this most difficult task, the enemy's effort to capture the city was defeated and the front line was stabilized.

Meanwhile, Moscow became directly threatened. At the beginning of October the enemy mounted a broad offensive in a westerly direction, breached out defenses and surrounded large forces of the Western and Reserve fronts. The enemy was rushing toward the capital. During that difficult period of the defense of Moscow the Central Committee Politburo urgently recalled G.K. Zhukov from Leningrad, entrusting him with the responsibility of defending the city in the sector west of the capital.

Georgiy Konstantinovich justified the party's hopes. His far-reaching anticipation of possible enemy actions, courage and calm and confident and decisive actions played an exceptionally important role during that harsh period. Taking energetic steps, he restored control over the forces within an exceptionally short time, using formations transferred by Headquarters from other sectors of the Soviet-German front and communist and worker units raised by the Moscow party organization, and restored the defense front. Promptly reacting to any threat, the front commander and staff flexibly handled their forces, dealing tangible counterstrikes against the enemy whenever possible. The stubborn and active defense conducted by the Soviet forces wore out the enemy's strike forces and his offensive was halted.

In November 1941 Supreme Command Headquarters initiated preparations for a counteroffensive at Moscow. The main role was assigned to the Western Front, commanded by G.K. Zhukov. Its forces were significantly weaker than the enemy's in terms of strength and ordnance, with the exception of air power. The defeat of the enemy was based not on numbers but on skill. The outcome of the offensive depended above all on the courage and daring of our troops and the skill of the command of all ranks. G. K. Zhukov's boundless faith in the high moral and combat qualities of the Soviet soldier, inflexible will and persistence in reaching the objective and flexibility in troop command were fully manifested in the preparations for and conduct of the offensive. At the beginning of January 1942 the Western and related fronts threw the enemy back, away from Moscow, 100 to 250 kilometers, thus lifting the direct threat to the capital and the Moscow industrial area. This was the first strategic-scale victory of the Soviet armed Forces, a victory of tremendous military and political importance. We are currently widely marking the 45th anniversary of the battle for Moscow.

Decisive events took place in a southwesterly direction in the summer of 1942. By the end of August the German fascist troops had reached the Volga, north of Stalingrad, clearly threatening not only the city but the entire southern flank of the Soviet forces. The State Defense Committee sent Zhukov to assist

the commands of the fronts defending Stalingrad. Under his leadership strikes were mounted against the left flank of the enemy forces advancing on Stalingrad. This forced the enemy to divert substantial forces to oppose our northern group, thus easing the pressure on the city. This improved the situation of the armies defending the fortress on the Volga.

In mid-September G.K. Zhukov and Chief of General Staff A.M. Vasilevskiy raised at a Supreme Command meeting the idea of a Stalingrad counteroffensive. Zhukov was put in charge of preparing the Southwestern and Don fronts for the operation. The vulnerable spots in enemy defenses, the tasks of fronts and armies and steps to achieve operative surprise of the offensive were refined in close coordination with N.F. Vatutin and K.K. Rokossovskiy, the front commanders, and with the commanders of armies and formations; estimates were made of the forces and materiel required for a fast breach of tactical defenses, developing successes and completing the encirclement of the enemy.

The skillfully developed plan for the counteroffensive and the thorough preparations of front and army operations, for which G.K. Zhukov deserved great credit, were the basis for the success of the strategic operation. Although lacking superiority over the enemy in terms of strength and ordnance, the Soviet forces brilliantly implemented the plan of the Supreme Command: they routed a powerful strategic enemy group (330,000 men alone were encircled). The Stalingrad counteroffensive laid the beginning of a radical change in the course of the war in favor of the Soviet Union.

Battles for the destruction of the enemy group at Stalingrad were still being fought when the country was informed of a new victory won by the Soviet armed Forces. In January 1943 the forces on the Leningrad and Volkhov Fronts dealt counterstrikes at the enemy south of Lake Ladoga, breached the blockade of Leningrad and restored land communications between the city and the rest of the country. This offensive and the coordination of front activities were the work of G.K. Zhukov together with K. Ye. Voroshilov. The breaching of the blockade was of major military and political significance and a turning point in the historical battle for Leningrad. Zhukov was made Marshal of the Soviet Union.

Zhukov played an important role in organizing the combat operations of the fronts in the battle for Kursk. After reconnaissance revealed the preparations the German fascist army was making for a major offensive in the Kursk Arc, and when the question of selecting the type of strategic action considered necessary arose, it was precisely thanks to Zhukov's persistent and convincing arguments, supported by the General Staff, that the decision was made to engage deliberately in defensive action so that, after exhausting the enemy in defensive battles, to defeat him with a powerful counteroffensive. The accuracy of this solution was entirely confirmed by the subsequent development of events.

Zhukov is also credited with the success of the Proskurovo-Chernovtsy operation, one of the largest front operations of the Great Patriotic War. Under his command, the forces of the First Ukrainian Front cleared of the enemy a considerable part of Ukrainian territory and, reaching the foothills of the Karpathian Mountains, bisected the Hitlerite strategic front.

In the summer of 1944 Marshal Zhukov coordinated the actions of the First and Second Belorussian fronts which conducted the Lvov-Sandomir operation. The result was the liberation of a large part of Poland. Our forces reached the Vistula and captured a number of major bridgeheads on its western bank.

From November 1944 to the end of the war in Europe G.K. Zhukov commanded the forces of the First Belorussian Front which operated in the main and decisive Warsaw-Berlin direction. In January and February 1945, together with the forces of the First Ukrainian Front, they carried out the Vistula-Oder operation in the course of which they liberated a sizable area of Poland, including Warsaw, its capital, and, rushing ahead, entered the territory of fascist Germany. In February and March, under his command, the front successfully participated in the East Pomeranian operation and in April and May in the great Berlin operation, the result of which was the seizure of the capital of Hitler's Reich. On 8 May 1945, in Karlshorst, a Berlin suburb, on behalf and instructions of the Soviet Supreme Command, together with the representatives of the commands of the allied armed forces, Marshal of the Soviet Union G.K. Zhukov accepted the surrender of the armed forces of fascist Germany.

As we pay proper homage to the military activities of this famous military commander, we do not forget the experience and lessons of the last war. We have inherited from the generation which defended the world from the brown fascist plague the great responsibility for the fate of the homeland and all human civilization. The great mission of helping to safeguard peace and mankind's progress with its entire powerful economic and defense potential became the lot of our country. No one should doubt that this mission will be fulfilled honorably.

After the war, in the high positions he held, G.K. Zhukov dedicated his entire energy, knowledge and experience to strengthening the country's defense capability. He made a substantial contribution to reequipping the army and navy with new types of ordnance, perfecting their organizational structure and developing military science and troop training. He ascribed particular importance to maintaining the political and moral spirit of the troops on a high level and to party political work, on the assumption that the fruitful activities of commanders would be impossible without the constant support of political authorities and party organizations.

G.K. Zhukov was member of the Communist Party for 50 years. "...I have always considered that my highest title is that of communist-bolshevik...", he said. "I owe all my credits and accomplishments above all to our party, which carefully nurtured me, promoted me to command positions and taught me harsh and frank lessons, so that I could advance even further and higher..."

Being a party member and soldier, G. K. Zhukov was exceptionally demanding of himself. He was harsh and merciless toward people guilty of irresponsibility and lack of discipline. "I have been accused of being excessively demanding, a feature I have believed must be a mandatory quality of a bolshevik commander," he frankly wrote. "I become very upset at unconscientious work or behavior of a military serviceman. Some people have been unable to understand this and I, in turn, may have been too intolerant of

human weaknesses. Naturally, today I can see my errors much more clearly. Life teaches us a great deal. But I still believe that no one has the right to enjoy life at someone else's expense. It is particularly important for the military, who will be the first to defend the homeland on the battlefields, to realize this."

Here is another feature of the Marshal's character: Although entirely dedicating himself to the cause, he never worked alone. Georgiy Konstantinovich had the rare gift and ability to rally and involve in most active efforts subordinate commanders, staffs and political organs. He was an unsurpassed organizer of combat work by even the largest military collectives.

The Communist Party and Soviet government highly rated G.K. Zhukov's outstanding services. He was awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union on four different occasions, six Orders of Lenin, the Order of the October Revolution, two Orders of Victory, two Orders of Suvorov first class and many medals and high awards presented by socialist and other countries.

Today, considering the difficult international situation and the growing aggressiveness of reactionary imperialist circles, the CPSU Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo pay tireless attention to the country's defense capability, the combat strength of the Armed Forces of the USSR and the strengthening of military discipline. The party and the state see to it that Soviet soldiers and officers, as they carry out their difficult military service, always feel the concern of society and for our armed forces be a school of civic responsibility, courage and patriotism. The study of the very rich experience in the defense of the socialist fatherland is of great importance in the successful implementation of these tasks. One of the sources from which the command and political personnel, agitators and propagandists can draw a great deal of useful and instructive experience is the life and activities of noted Soviet military commanders, who set examples of dedicated service to the homeland, displaying brilliant organizational and will-power qualities, creatively mastering the theory of the art of war and skillfully applying it under most difficult conditions. In this respect, anything related to the famous Soviet military commander Georgiy Konstantinovich Zhukov is to us of permanent interest and an object of particular pride for our people and our party.

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MORE EXTENSIVE DISSEMINATION OF THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE 27TH CPSU CONGRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 86 (signed to press 9 Dec 86) pp 107-113

[Review of Republic Party Journals]

[Text] The society in motion, the process of post-April changes and the restructuring of all areas of social life are being reflected, like in a drop of water, in the press. Newspapers, television and radio are quickly responding to new developments. The party journals are assigned a major role in disseminating the strategic course of the party congress. The theoretical and political journals published in union republics are called upon, together with the other party publications, to contribute to making the priceless capital of the congress' ideas known to every party member, to developing the reader a taste for theory and to promote a respectful, intimate and, something quite important, highly intellectual discussion with the party aktiv and with anyone who would like to understand the processes underway on the basis of the exigent positions of Marxist-Leninist doctrine, and to find his place in the struggle for restructuring and acceleration.

The stipulation in the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Journal KOMMUNIST," which is that of contributing to the development and implementation of the congress' ideas, developing in cadres the ability to think and act in a new style, supporting everything that is valuable and progressive and born in the course of the restructuring, bringing to light its urgent and profoundly revolutionary nature and irreconcilably opposing sluggishness and routine and obsolete prejudices in theory and practice, is addressed to the entire party press and, not least, to republic theoretical and political journals. This was the topic of a specific practical discussion held at a meeting of leading personnel of party theoretical and political journals, sponsored by the editors of KOMMUNIST (see KOMMUNIST, No 16, 1986). Such publications perform the functions of developing topical problems of theory and scientific popularizing and the opportunity efficiently to respond to the most important events in the life of a republic, acting as an advisor to the party activists in organizational-statute problems. It is important in such comprehensive work to find one's own view on party-wide problems, not to fall into "commentaries" or "drown" within local materials the main, the strategic trends in the work of the party members at the present very important stage of Soviet society. The intensiveness and productivity of

party ideological life will greatly depend on the way the journals, not only central but also republic, will carry out their assigned mission.

In their first post-congress issues, the theoretical and political publications of the central committees of communist parties of union republics opened sections on propaganda and implementation of the historical resolutions of the party forum. "Matter of Prime Importance" (KOMMUNIST UKRAINY, No 6), "Convert the Party's Plans Into Specific Actions" (KOMMUNIST BELORUSSII, No 5), "In the Traditions of Bolshevism" (KOMMUNIST GRUZII, No 5) and "The Party's Resolutions Are Inspiring" (KOMMUNIST KIRGIZSTANA, No 6), were the headings of editorials and editorial articles in the journals describing the main trends in the activities of the party organizations in the implementation of the general line of the CPSU of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and strengthening peace on earth. However, simply starting a new section and loudly proclaiming the resolve to implement the congress' decisions is obviously insufficient, the more so since in the recent past many publications on this topic were frequently reduced to high-sounding statements with little appeal to the minds and the hearts.

"The atmosphere of the congress, which developed after the April plenum and in discussions and clashes of opinions, triggering in the people the healthy thirst for more and better accomplishments, regardless of the time it took, must be preserved," emphasizes the editorial in KOMMUNIST UKRAINY (No 6). Here as well the tasks of the ideological worker were depicted in a substantially new fashion. "The first demand," the article reads, "is to become imbued with a spirit of realism. In his assessments and conclusions, the ideological worker must proceed from reality, which includes successes, shortcomings and errors. He must learn to call them by their right names and to avoid praises and exclamations. Something else is important as well. The struggle for the assertion of new features in life also presumes the use of new fresh means. Readers, viewers and listeners must see that a given ideological worker is not only launching appeals for restructuring but is restructuring himself, in accordance with the requirements of the congress."

We are pleased that the search for new forms is becoming the distinguishing feature of the activities of party journals as well. They are publishing more frequently roundtable meetings, letters from the editorial mail, answers to readers' questions; there are more basic and sharply critical materials published in sections such as "The Critics Speak" (KOMMUNIST ESTONII), "Problems and Discussion" (KOMMUNIST AZERBAYDZHANA), and "Letters to the Editors: Views and Suggestions" (KOMMUNIST BELORUSSII). Nevertheless, as we note the growing variety of genres in the journals and their aspiration to enrich the forms of presentation of materials, making them more "human," and more intelligible, we should look at the roots: Are these new forms truly innovative, expressing the meaning and spirit of the course set at the congress; do they suitably reflect the process of intensification of ideological life within the party and the comprehensiveness of changes occurring in the society?

The new forms cannot and must not become self-seeking. For example, we are pleased by the roundtable discussion on problems of acceleration sponsored by KOMMUNIST UZBEKISTANA immediately after the congress. However, despite the

representative nature of its participants, the materials turn out superficial, lacking proper analysis and interpretation of the basic stipulations of the concept and strategy of acceleration which, essentially, was reduced merely to quantitative parameters and to increasing the pace of economic growth. "Simplification" and haste may be felt in the interpretation of many of the most important categories of the party's contemporary course.

The following words are printed on the cover of republic party publications: "Theoretical and Political Journal. . . ." This means that, to the extent of their forces and possibilities, relying on the intellectual potential of the local authors, the journalists must make their contribution to the development of topical problems of Marxist-Leninist theory. The prime condition for such work (which, precisely, is a characteristic of republic publications) is the study of real processes which occur precisely in a specific region. It is only then, on the basis of the summation of numerous facts and variety of manifestations in the country's life in all of its socioeconomic and "geographic" characteristics, that a real picture of contemporary social processes may be painted and used as a base for far-reaching theoretical and political conclusions. Today, when theoretical activities themselves become one of the most important motive forces in building socialism and communism and the most important instrument in restructuring, this approach becomes particularly relevant.

The extent to which the theoretical articles published in the local party journals after the congress are contributing to the restructuring and the quality of theoretical work is directly related to utilizing the potential of social scientists working in republic scientific and VUZ centers. For it is precisely this that determines the "theoretical image" of the journal and of most of its materials (with the exception of reprints from the central press, including the journal KOMMUNIST). As a rule, the bulk of the articles found in the sections "The 27th CPSU Congress: Problems of Theory and Practice" (KOMMUNIST KIRGIZSTANA), "Congress of Strategic Decisions" (KOMMUNIST BELORUSSII), "The 27th Congress: Theory and Practice" (KOMMUNIST AZERBAJDZHANA) and similar sections in other journals could be classified as "commentator" articles. Let us immediately stipulate that materials which explain, popularize and comment are vitally necessary when it is a question of the initial steps taken in the dissemination of the new ideas formulated at the congress. Let us assume the same type of approach in the special sections which offer method materials for propagandists and students within the political and economic educational system (for example, KOMMUNIST, the journal of the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee, publishes with each issue brief consultations in help of those studying the materials of the congress. This is a noteworthy project). However, our time demands not only purely "educational" but also strictly theoretical, analytical, research works and an increase in the knowledge of processes occurring in society, which would contribute to solving urgent problems. The theoretical publications of the journals should be on the level of these tasks.

Unfortunately, for the time being, with rare exceptions, no such change has occurred. Unquestionably, articles carried by KOMMUNIST TURKMENISTANA, KOMMUNIST MOLDAVII and many others deal with important and truly crucial problems of scientific communism. This includes acceleration as a legitimate

process in the development of socialism, problems of the socialist self-government by the people, and the strategy of perfecting our society. However, why is it that, for example, the author of the article "Strategic Line of Development in the Political System of Socialist Society," published in issue No 6 of the journal PO LENINSKOMU PUTI, of the Communist Party of Armenia Central Committee, has simply copied the documents issued at the congress and has not even tried to analyze the practice of democratization and development of self-government in the republic? Nor should theoretical publications ignore an important principle of our outlook, such as social justice, which plays such an important role in the cleansing processes taking place within the society. Materials dealing with interpreting the content of this philosophical and social category are, as a rule, abstract, ignoring negative phenomena and acute problems related to its practical implementation (see, for example, "Social Justice--A Principle of the Socialist Way of Life" in KOMMUNIST BELORUSSII, No 8). Here it is not only a matter of the lack of specific examples or references to local problems, as it may appear on the surface. Many theoretical publications in the journal include data and references on the republic's experience, which are positive illustrations of the overall concepts expressed at the congress. What is lacking, however, is the main thing: the creative interpretation of the facts and the author's mind at work and, therefore, making readers interested.

The style and terminology used in theoretical publications leaves something better to be desired. For example, in the article on the topical subject of "Dialectics of Acceleration" (KOMMUNIST ESTONII, No 5) the discussion focuses only on definitions, interpreting differences between "latent or covert contradiction" and "actual contradiction," and so on. At the same time, the article virtually ignores problems of acceleration in the republic and ways of surmounting not abstract but specific contradictions. It appears as though some of the articles were written for a specialized philosophical publication, reminding us of a postgraduate dissertation.

We usually refer in such cases to the habit of some social scientists to write in a "glossy" style with dashing sentences and the insufficient restructuring of the social science front. However, the journals themselves could and should act as a powerful factor in this reconstruction, by directing the efforts into the proper channels, creating favorable conditions for the creative work of the scientists and stimulating scientific daring, and innovative formulation of problems, the more so since we find in this area good examples of the "plunge" by the social scientists into the very thick of economic and managerial practices and a discussion of their relevant points.

A good article on perfecting methods of economic management as a form of development of socialist production relations was carried in issue No 5 of KOMMUNIST SOVETSKOY LATVII. The author identified the connection between "major" philosophical and political-economic categories (such as, for example, nonantagonistic contradictions) and the realities of economic and social life, including those in the republic.

Let us consider the article "Forms of Ownership Under Socialism and Their Regional Characteristics" in KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA, No 7. Based on the study of the socioeconomic and demographic situation in the area, in this

article the categories of political economic theory are presented not in an abstract fashion, as in a textbook, but in extremely specific terms, filled with present-day reality. The specific features of the Tajik economy, writes the author, Dr of Economic Sciences T. Mir-Akilov, is the fact that in this case the share of state ownership is lower than the average for the USSR. In recent years intensive studies have been made in the republic aimed at accelerating the quantitative and qualitative growth of national ownership and strengthening the concentration, combination and cooperation of production enterprises and reducing regional disparities.

At the same time, the author brings to light the contradictory and disparate nature of such processes, pointing out unsolved problems and, particularly, the need to increase the pace of training skilled workers and the organization of labor-intensive production facilities in the republic. He also analyzes the unsuccessful efforts to accelerate the "socialization" of production through the centralization of similar enterprises. The establishment of production associations in the republic occurs, as a rule, within the individual ministries although the scientific and technical revolution urgently calls for the organization of sets of heterogeneous enterprises covering the entire technological chain, and the elimination of departmental barriers. Nor is the one-sided organizational "reclassification" of kolkhozes and sovkhoses yielding necessary results. In describing the significant potential of the cooperative form of ownership (proving this with figures!), the author draws the conclusion that the further rapprochement between the two basic forms of socialist ownership is inconceivable without corresponding changes in the economic mechanism and persistent efforts at increasing cost accounting and converting enterprises to self-financing and self-recovery, i.e., without the development of new forms of production relations.

Another aspect of regional problems is discussed in the article by V. Naumenko "Economics, Politics, Economic Management" (KOMMUNIST UKRAINY, No 9). The existing economic mechanism, the author writes, allows a "break" in the interaction between economics and politics precisely on the regional level. The party committees try to find a solution to this situation by directly engaging in the performance of economic functions, as though to compensate for nonexistent regional units within the economic mechanism. The journal suggests that steps be taken, aimed at significantly strengthening the regional level of management through the reassigning of economic functions and rights, obligations and responsibilities among the center, the region and the enterprise (association).

The study of the economy on the regional level and of social relations as a whole, as the survey of the best materials carried by republic journals indicates, is a major trend in their theoretical work and in the summation of practical experience. The task of such journals is not to try to duplicate in major and minor manners the structure and type of articles published in Moscow's KOMMUNIST but to seek their own aspect, their own viewpoint on topical problems of our time. It is precisely this that offers a broad field for the application of the efforts of local scientists and journalists and party and soviet personnel for joint creative searches.

This applies, above all, to interpreting the specific practices of socioeconomic progress, the struggle for production quality and enhancement of discipline, responsibility and organization.

In a series of articles KOMMUNIST SOVETSKOY LATVII describes the parameters and implementation of the Quality-90 Priority Comprehensive Target Program drawn up by the republic. Let us particularly note that the sharply critical discussion of such problems by the chief of the republic's Gosstandart Republic Administration, in issue No 6, was continued in the article by the party committee secretary of the Radiotekhnika Production Association in Riga who describes increased party attention paid to quality. The journal is continuing this important discussion: Problems of production quality are kept steadily under control. The same problem was discussed in KOMMUNIST (LSSR) in the topical comment entitled "Present-Day Topic." Acceleration of scientific and technical progress is a paramount topic in KOMMUNIST ESTONII, PO LENINSKOMU PUTI, KOMMUNIST BELORUSSII and KOMMUNIST UKRAINY.

After the 27th Congress, KOMMUNIST KAZAKHSTANA discussed particularly urgent problems for the republic of upgrading capital returns and raised questions of the dissemination of intensive technology in agriculture and reasons for a major lagging in animal husbandry in the sections "Production Intensification: Labor, Quality, Efficiency" and "Agroindustrial Complex: Experience and Problems." These are necessary and important topics. It is regrettable only that, as a rule, their discussion was undertaken only after criticism at high-level partywide meetings or in the central press. Such "delays" greatly weaken the constructive charge contained in critical articles. Or else, let us consider materials on economic problems carried in the journal KOMMUNIST MOLDAVII. The article "End (?) Results of the Development of the Economy of the Moldavian SSR" (No 7) cites a great deal of figures proving the relative prosperity of the republic's economic affairs. However, by the time the issue was going to press it had already become clear that such smooth accountability, was not consistent, mildly put, with the actual situation in Moldavia. Who if not journalists and scientists should have promptly spoken out on questions of alarming trends and urgent problems?

Today any economic or managerial problem is given a "human dimension" in the full meaning of the term. The party congress formulated essentially new approaches to the social area and earmarked ways of improving material and spiritual life and implementing the principle of social justice.

The attention paid by the party journals to this topic, one of the most important today, is understandable and legitimate. New sections describing the content and trends of the restructuring in the social area and the enhancement of the human factor appeared after the congress in a large number of publications. Problems of the efficiency of housing and sociocultural construction, upgrading the material well-being of the Soviet people, perfecting the service industry and the complex set of problems of labor organization and incentive (including "nonstandard" forms such as individual labor activity, work at home, etc.) are discussed in the journals.

Social topics are consistently discussed in KOMMUNIST AZERBAIJANA. One of the post-congress issues opened with the article "The Social Sphere: Lessons and

Future"; a new section was opened entitled "On the Ways to Enhancing the Human Factor." Such topics are being actively discussed in KOMMUNIST SOVETSKOY LATVII, KOMMUNIST MOLDAVII, KOMMUNIST GRUZII and other journals. Nevertheless, we believe that a disproportionately small part of the overall number of articles is being dedicated to problems of developing the social sphere; above all, however, a lack of effectiveness is felt in the articles. To a certain extent, this is a reflection of the former "residual" attitude toward sociocultural and service developments. The party journals are still standing aside from the summation and dissemination of innovative social and civic initiatives, such as the creation of housing complexes for young people and the organization of leisure time. Yet this should be the concern not only of the Komsomol press or other mass information media. We must not forget that this is an important area in the struggle for man.

An interesting comprehensive study of what is usually known as the human factor was undertaken in KOMMUNIST ESTONII. This project, planned on a long-term basis, covers a variety of aspects of economic and social policy, ideological work and culture. "Man and Scientific and Technical Progress" was the topic of a discussion with O. Klushin, general director of the Krengolmskaya Manufaktura Combine (No 5). "Literature: Interest in the Person" was the overall title of an interview with noted Estonian writers (No 4); in the article "Addressed to the Person," S.-A. Villo, first secretary of Leninskiy Raykom, Communist Party of Estonia, Tallin city, describes reserves for upgrading the quality of consumer goods (No 6). Finally, issues 9 and 10 of this periodical include an investigation by the journal, entitled "The Human Factor, Restructuring and Responsibility," which discussed the new ways of enhancing the creative activities of individuals and how to understand the party's demand of thinking and working in a new style and developing a feeling of proprietorship, as viewed by workers, scientists, party workers and artists, expressed in their answers to the questions in the survey.

These may appear to be different topics. Combined, however, the answers reveal that they deal with the values of the human personality and its truly inexhaustible reserves and the need to create working and living conditions worthy of the citizens of a socialist society.

The strength of the human spirit in the throes of harsh trials is described in the July issue of KOMMUNIST UKRAINY, writing on the Chernobyl tragedy. However, admiration of the people who stood up on the way to the lethal radiation does not conceal the topic of responsibility and the need for the greatest possible level of organization and discipline in the interaction between man and most complex and sometimes dangerous technologies. These problems are discussed in KOMMUNIST UZBEKISTANA and KOMMUNIST GRUZII in the sections "Man and Nature" and "Man and His Environment." A concerned attitude toward our common home, the earth on which we live, is the leitmotif of the materials carried in these journals.

Man with his interests, needs and aspirations must be in the center of the restructuring of party work, the main purpose of which is for the people to turn their attention to reality. This demand, formulated at the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee plenum, was accepted with understanding by the majority of party cadres and is beginning to be refracted in practical actions. The

problems and difficulties of the restructuring are actively discussed in the republic journals. Quantitative indicators alone would indicate this to be their prime topic. Interviews, roundtable meetings and speeches by party workers are published, describing the initial steps of the restructuring, the struggle against formalism and paper shuffling and the work style of primary organizations and party committees on the rayon, city and oblast levels.

The staff of the Lithuanian KOMMUNIST undertook a comprehensive study of the process of restructuring of the activities of the party organization of the LiSSR Ministry of Consumer Services. The reason for the study of this specific department is explained by the fact that the previous achievements of this sector had developed in its personnel a peculiar complex of infallibility: self-praise, concealing grave problems and avoiding their discussion. These shortcomings affected one of the determining features of party work: efficiency. The situation in the ministry's party organization was the same. The authors of the articles not simply expose one fault or another but also help to find the shortest way to the real rather than merely claimed restructuring. Obviously, the journalists in other republics should more daringly take up such topics and subject to critical and objective study the work of party committees on different levels. For the time being, the newspapers are substantially ahead of the journals in discussing this topic.

The reputation of a journal also depends on the support it receives from the party committee, whose organ it is. Unfortunately, as a rule, theoretical and political journals remain outside the area of the concentrated attention of central committees of communist parties of union republics. Most editors do not recall cases of resolution passed by the superior party authority on the publications carried by one journal or another. Unquestionably, the party committee's lack of attention influences the quality of publications and the impact which the journals have on the course of the restructuring.

Under the heading "The Experience of the Party Organizations in the Country Are Available to Us" the search for fruitful methods of restructuring is described in KOMMUNIST AZERBAYDZHANA. Articles in this section describe new approaches taken by the Leningrad party organizations in implementing the Intensification-90 Program, and analyze the positive experience of the people of Krasnoyarsk, Tyumen and Moscow. Problems and accomplishments of ideological cadres in Azerbaijan and of the party organizations in a number of areas are, in turn, reflected in materials published by KOMMUNIST UKRAINY. Readers of other party journals become acquainted with the experience of the fraternal republics. As a rule, this involves especially commissioned articles for their own journals, written by leading party personnel or results of assignments given to journal correspondents. Reprints could also play a certain role in the exchange of experience. But why was it necessary to publish in No 8 of KOMMUNIST AZERBAYDZHANA an excerpt of an article printed in the journal PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN KAZAKHSTANA, which consisted of nothing but general statements, such as "According to the author, the slow application of progressive experience is greatly damaging the area's economy" or "Cultural and educational institutions are assigned an important role in the political, labor and moral upbringing of the village population?" We shall not undertake to judge whether such bits of experience were useful as part of the original article. In this case, however, all we see is waste of newsprint.

The so-called "secretarial" article is just about the most difficult genre in party journalism. Articles by the "first persons" of a republic, oblast or rayon must always be in the nature of a political address to the people, appealing to their minds, hearts and feelings. Unfortunately, such articles are not all too frequent in the journals. Sometimes, their authors discuss with greater willingness and knowledge purely economic problems rather than the political aspects of the matter and do not delve deeply in the study of social phenomena and socioeconomic problems. This is a field of work for the authors of such articles and journalists, for cheerful self-serving reports and official answers in which silence replaces a serious talk on entirely specific shortcomings have still not disappeared from the journals. Many examples to this effect could be cited. Here is one: an article by S. Mamarasulov, first secretary of Surkhan-Darya Oblast, Communist Party of Uzbekistan, on the very necessary topic of "Criticism and Self-Criticism Are an Efficient Means of Improving Party Work" (KOMMUNIST UZBEKISTANA, No 9). In discussing the recent past in the life of the oblast party organization, the author describes the established practice of figure-padding and amending plans. "As a result, the cadres were raised not with the lessons of real life but in a spirit of uncomplaining obedience to someone's will," he writes. "This weakened independence and presented an appearance of well-being." However, the "someone" of ill will has a specific first and last name which, incidentally, is well-known to the party members in the oblast and throughout the republic. Why is such bashful anonymity which does not enhance trust in the journal in the least needed?

With every consecutive issue, the topic of restructuring is becoming increasingly more precise and meaningful. The range of contributors is widening and ever new problems are being discussed. This is natural, for the process of renovation covers the entire system of relations in society, including the spiritual and ideological areas. Let us regretfully add, however, that the process of turning toward the problems of life is still quite sluggish in the republic journals.

The shaping of a social awareness consistent with the realities of the present is the task of journal publications dealing with the psychological restructuring and the molding of a communist outlook.

"The restructuring affects the deep and durable qualities of a person and his most significant relations with the surrounding world; they are the motivation for social activeness," writes R. Shakurov, dr of psychological sciences, KOMMUNIST UKRAINY (No 10). "It is not easy to change developed interests, tastes and value orientations and concepts; it is even more difficult to change the features of a personality and its nature and style of work which they create." In publishing this article, the editors have invited the readers to engage in a debate so that they may jointly consider the essence of the psychological restructuring of cadres and the direction it should take.

The specific nature of the republic publications is that they pay great attention to interrelated problems of international, patriotic and atheistic upbringing and problems of cultural policy. The tested and clearly formulated party stance on such problems is particularly important also in the context of the sharp ideological confrontation and the numerous speculations in which

bourgeois propaganda engages on national and religious topics. The organizers of "psychological warfare" are trying to link religion with national culture and the history of nations. Donning the garb of defenders of permanent spiritual values, they try to instill in the people religious ideals and their own evaluations of the cultural legacy of the past. The party journals in the Baltic republics actively oppose such interpretations of the history and culture of the peoples; KOMMUNIST AZERBAJDZHANA and KOMMUNIST UZBEKISTANA are convincingly exposing the myths of "Panislamism." KOMMUNIST TURKMENISTANA systematically engages in atheistic propaganda in virtually every issue.

A truly scientific approach to history and culture is established in the course of surmounting a variety of simplistic concepts based on conjectures, unfortunately still imbuing popular and even specialized monographs. For example, KOMMUNIST BELORUSSII reacted, properly in our view, to the publication of the book "Pamyat o Legendakh" [Remembering Legends], published by Izdatelstvo Polymya in Minsk. In this work the dynamics of history is presented as the self-development of some kind of "spirit of the people," which actually rejects the single origin of the Belorussian and the Russian nations and distorts the events of the 16th-18th centuries, which led to the reunification of Belorussia with Russia. This is a time of a new upsurge in the patriotic feelings of the Soviet people and their aspiration to approach the reviving sources of progressive folk traditions and the culture of the past. It is important, therefore, for the interpretation of history to take place on the basis of clear conceptual positions.

Naturally, a survey such as this one cannot encompass the entire topic and genre variety of post-congress issues of republic party journals. A great deal has been done but more is needed to eliminate pretentiousness and scholastic doctrinairism in theoretical articles and to improve methodology in organizing journal debates on unstudied or controversial problems. The language and style of journal materials leaves something better to be desired (this frequently includes the quality of translations). Some of the first steps aimed at perfecting the work of journals should include a regular exchange of data among republic printed organs and KOMMUNIST and the practical training of editorial personnel. Work with letters to the editors should be more efficient. New authors should be sought, above all among the young. More frequent debates should be held on topical regional problems. The republic publications have problems caused by insufficient printing facilities. Such problems must also be solved without delay.

To face the variety of life itself and to become a rostrum for developing social thinking are party requirements concerning the press, making it incumbent on the journals to take a new step toward the interpretation and dissemination of the historical resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

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DIFFICULT PATH OF STRUGGLE AND VICTORIES

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[Review by V. Musatov of the book by Janos Berecs "Krakh Operatsii 'Fokus': Kontrrevolyutsiya Perom i Oruzhiyem" [Failure of Operation Focus: The Counterrevolution with Pen and Sword]. Translated from the Hungarian. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 255 pp]

[Text] The beginning of November 1986 marked 30 years of the founding of the Hungarian revolutionary worker-peasant government and the re-establishment of the Hungarian Communist Party. That was a turning point in the political crisis of the Hungarian People's Republic, when the very existence of socialism was threatened. Having openly broken with traitors and turncoats, the party's revolutionary nucleus took up the defense of the people's democratic system and the socialist gains in Hungary, leading all true patriots in the struggle against the counterrevolution.

History proved the rightness of the courageous and principle-minded step taken by J. Kadar and his fellow workers, dictated by their loyalty to the ideals of Marxism-Leninism, their patriotic and internationalist feelings and their awareness of their responsibility to their own people, the fraternal countries and the international communist movement. The successes achieved by the Hungarian People's Republic in building a socialist society over the past 30 years clearly prove the substantiation and accuracy of the steps taken by the MSZMP after the defeat of the counterrevolution.

The armed offensive against the foundations of socialism in Hungary in 1956 was one of the efforts of world imperialism to gain social revenge. Of late bourgeois propaganda media have mounted a noisy campaign not only to mark the "anniversary" of counterrevolutionary events but also to whitewash their organizers and inspirers and cast aspersions on MSZMP policy. Naturally, time marches on and the old frontal attacks mounted by the West have been replaced by tactically flexible means: On the state level protocol was observed, contacts continued and readiness was emphasized to develop trade-economic, cultural and scientific relations with Hungary. This, however, did not "prevent" the use of the 30th anniversary of the mutiny for an attack on socialism.

Participating in the anti-Hungarian and anti-socialist campaign were U.S. President Reagan, Vice President George Bush and some other personalities. Their speeches were not distinguished by originality. As in the past, the Western politicians and ideologues tried to prove that it was not a counterrevolution but a revolution, an "uprising by the people" that had taken place in Hungary in 1956. Even the successes in building socialism in Hungary were explained as being almost the result of the practical implementation of the "program" of the leaders of the counterrevolution. Many tears were shed for Imre Naj on whose behalf efforts are being made in the West to present him as a "martyr," while dissident elements are described as the "heirs" of his bankrupt ideas.

All such fabrications are not new. Their underlining has long been exposed. A great deal has been written both in Hungary and the other socialist countries and in the West on the nature of and reasons for the 1956 counterrevolutionary events. Naturally, however, no one could discuss such events better and more authoritatively than the Hungarian comrades. The resolutions of the MSZMP and the works of Hungarian historians provide a Marxist analysis of the different problems of that time. Several new monographs have come out on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the defeat of the counterrevolution in Hungary, including an expanded edition of the book by J. Berecs, MSZMP Central Committee secretary, which draws attention with its many numerous qualities, above all historical accuracy, a rich documentary base, political depth and party-mindedness.

The author substantiatedly proves that the armed uprising and the entire ideological and organizational activities related to its preparations were of a counterrevolutionary nature. The purpose was to overthrow the power of the working class, change social conditions and separate Hungary from its allies.

Berecs convincingly exposes the thesis popularized in the West according to which the Hungarian events of 1956 were spontaneous, reflecting the dissatisfaction of the people with the socialist system. He cites detailed data on clandestine and semi-clandestine organizations which existed in Hungary and abroad and which, acting on imperialist instructions, were undermining the foundations of the people's democratic state. The main role in guiding such activities, the author emphasizes, was played by the United States, its propaganda apparatus and special services, and a variety of official and private organizations. The United States and its NATO allies had formulated a number of secret plans and actions of a subversive nature directed against Hungary and the other socialist countries. Particularly important among them was the notorious "Focus" operation, drafted by the Free Europe Committee. Broadcasts by Radio Free Europe were ascribed particular importance in its implementation, being aimed at the ideological indoctrination and disorientation of the working people and promoting among the Hungarian population dissatisfaction with its situation. These plans by the initiators of the Cold War were based on the aggressive policy of the United States and on the doctrine of "rejection" of communism and the "liberation" of Eastern European countries. In an effort to halt the progress of socialism, the imperialists, the CPSU program notes, resorted to a variety of means, ranging "from economic pressure and ideological subversion to direct efforts to organize counterrevolutionary coups and military aggression."

In the course of their subversive actions, the author emphasizes, the enemies of socialism profited from the gross errors and political blunders on the part of the leadership of the Hungarian Labor Party, headed by M. Rakosi, which had weakened party unity and ties with the masses and led to an increase in socioeconomic difficulties. How not to recall in this connection V.I. Lenin's words: "Nothing other than our own errors can destroy us" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 42, p 249)).

The class enemy hid behind the desire of the masses that the errors be corrected, asking for a "cleansing" of socialism. Bourgeois nationalism and anti-Sovietism were the banners of the counterrevolution. It was precisely with their help that a certain segment of the youth and the workers became stupefied.

The intensification of the crisis in the party and the country from 1953 to 1956 was directly related also to the enhancement of anti-party activities by the revisionist opposition, headed by Imre Naj, opening the way to the counterrevolutionary forces which had betrayed the basic interests of the people.

It was thus, therefore, that sectarian-dogmatic errors made by the leadership of the Hungarian Labor Party, the class treason of the revisionists, the armed actions mounted by internal anti-socialist forces and the extensive subversive activities of international imperialism were the main reasons for the 1956 counterrevolution in Hungary. The conclusion that these factors acted simultaneously was drawn by the provisional MSZMP Central Committee as early as December 1956, while the struggle for eliminating the consequences of the mutiny was still being waged. The past 3 decades have confirmed the accuracy of this assessment made by the Hungarian communists, Berecs emphasizes in his work.

Particularly exciting are the chapters in the book describing the tragic development of events between 23 October and 4 November, when the counterrevolutionaries, having rejected the slogans of "democratization," and "perfecting socialism," mounted a fierce attack on the socialist system and began to deal with its supporters.

The implementation of the plans for the restoration of a bourgeois-land owning order in Hungary was inseparably related to the danger of turning the country's territory into a hotbed of threat of war, which would endanger the peace and security of neighboring countries and all of Europe. The situation in the world was extremely tense, for the Anglo-Franco-Israeli aggression against independent Egypt was taking place precisely at that time. However, the reactionary plans for the restoration of a capitalist order in Hungary were not to succeed. A new stage in the struggle against the counterrevolution began on 4 November, when forces loyal to socialism mounted their offensive.

On the request of the Hungarian revolutionary worker-peasant government, the Soviet Union provided assistance in defeating the armed detachments of the counterrevolution. "This created favorable conditions and opportunities for

the socialist forces in the country and for their political and ideological struggle," the author writes.

The fact that MSZMP Central Committee and the government immediately drew a clear distinction between the revolution and the counterrevolution, condemned the errors of the past, broke with the traitors and provided guidelines to those who took up the defense of the values of socialism, was of tremendous importance in the successful struggle for consolidating the situation in the country and for continuing the building of socialism. The party action program, presented in the documents of MSZMP Central Committee plenums and at the June 1957 party conference was of tremendous importance. The successful implementation of these concepts enhanced the authority of the party and increased the support of its policies by the working people.

In mobilizing the healthy forces of society and establishing their unity on a socialist basis, the MSZMP creatively applied the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the objective laws of social development in accordance with national characteristics. The Hungarian communists relied on the cohesion and help of the socialist countries and the world communist and worker movements.

The experience gained in surmounting this very grave political crisis which took place in Hungary in 1956 and the lessons drawn from the struggle in defense of the people's regime and for a renovation of the party's course are relevant to this day. The study and summation of the experience of world socialism, including that gained over 30 years of MSZMP activities, is one of the sources for the creative quest for solving topical problems which face the socialist countries at the contemporary crucial stage in their development. The book by J. Berecs will play a useful role in these efforts.

The resolutions of the November 1986 MSZMP Central Committee plenum, which concretized the party's tasks in implementing the stipulations of the 13th Congress, particularly in terms of increasing the dynamism of economic growth, enhancing the efficiency of the national economy and intensifying economic and scientific and technical cooperation with the socialist countries, emphasize, taking into consideration historical conclusions, the need for the further enhancement of the leading role of the MSZMP, perfecting methods of party work, intensifying relations between party organizations and the masses and strengthening unity between party and people.

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Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 86 (signed to press 9 Dec 86) pp 115-116

[Text]

1. "Leniniana." Bibliographic index of the works of V.I. Lenin and publications concerning them. Vol 7. "Proizvedeniya V.I. Lenina i Literatura o Nih. 1972-1976" [The Works of V.I. Lenin and Publications About Them, 1972-1976]. R.M. Savitskaya, scientific editor. Kniga, Moscow, 1986, 520 pp.
2. "Vizit Generalnogo Sekretarya TsK KPSS M.S. Gorbacheva v Indiyu, 25-28 Noyabrya 1986 Goda" [Visit by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary, to India, 25-28 November 1986]. Documents and materials. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 127 pp with illustrations.
3. Talyzin, N.V. "O Gosudarstvennom Plane Ekonomicheskogo i Sotsialnogo Razvitiya SSSR na 1987 God i o Khode Vypolneniya Plana v 1986 Godu" [On the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1987 and On the Course of the Implementation of the 1986 Plan]. Report and concluding speech at the joint sessions held by the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities, 6th Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th convocation. "Zakon Soyuz Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik o Gosudarstvennom Plane Ekonomicheskogo i Sotsialnogo Razvitiya SSSR na 1987 God. Postanovleniye Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR o Khode Vypolneniya Gosudarstvennogo Plana Ekonomicheskogo i Sotsialnogo Razvitiya SSSR na 1986 God" [USSR Law on the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1987. Decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the Course of the Implementation of the State Plan for Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 32 pp.
4. Gostev, B.I. "O Gosudarstvennom Byudzhete SSSR na 1987 God i ob Ispolnenii Gosudarstvennogo Byudzheta SSSR za 1985 God" [On the 1987 State Budget of the USSR and on the Execution of the 1985 USSR State Budget]. Report and concluding speech at the joint sessions of the Council of the Union and Council of the Nationalities, 6th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th convocation. "Zakon Soyuz Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik o Gosudarstvennom Byudzhete SSSR na 1987 God. Postanovleniye Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR ob Utverzhdenii Otcheta ob Ispolnenii Gosudarstvennogo Byudzheta SSSR za 1985 God" [USSR Law on the USSR State Budget for 1987. USSR Supreme Soviet

Decree Ratifying the Report on the Execution of the USSR State Budget for 1985]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 32 pp.

5. Galko, V.G. "Partkom i Brigadnaya Forma Organizatsii Truda" [The Party Committee and the Brigade Form of Labor Organization]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 95 pp.

6. Yemelyanov, V.S. "O Nauke i Tsivilizatsii. Vospominaniya, Mysli i Razmyshleniya Uchenogo" [On Science and Civilization. Recollections, Thoughts and Reflections of a Scientist]. Mysl, Moscow, 1986, 239 pp with illustrations.

7. Kagramonov, Yu.M. "Metamorfozy Nigilizma" [The Metamorphoses of Nihilism]. On the "new philosophers" and the "new right." Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 160 pp.

8. Kerimov, D.A. "Filosofskiye Osnovaniya Politiko-Pravovyykh Issledovaniy" [Philosophical Foundations of Political-Legal Studies]. Mysl, Moscow, 1986, 332 pp.

9. Korolev, A.A. "Trebovatelnoye Doveriye" [Exigent Trust]. On the party's guidance of the communist upbringing of young people at the present stage. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 223 pp.

10. Korolev, Yu.N. and Kudachkin, M.F. "Latinskaya Amerika: Revolyutsii XX Veka" [Latin America: 20th Century Revolutions]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 350 pp.

11. "Mezhdunarodnyy Yezhegodnik. [International Yearbook]. Politics and economics; 1986 issue. O.N. Bykov, editor in chief. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 303 pp.

12. Myalovitskiy, A.V. "Ob Avtoritete Partiynogo Rabotnika" [On the Reputation of the Party Worker]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 63 pp.

13. Ozherelyev, O.I. "Sovershenstvovaniye Proizvodstvennykh Otnosheniy" [Perfecting Production Relations]. Ekonomika, Moscow, 1986, 255 pp.

14. "Pervyy Kongress Kominterna" [The First Komintern Congress]. The Great October Revolution and the birth of the international communist movement. Editorial collegium: K.K. Shirinya et al. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 551 pp.

15. "Perepiska Predsedatelya Soveta Ministrov SSSR s Prezidentami SShA i Premyer-Ministrami Velikobritanii vo Vremya Velikoy Otechestvennoy Voyny, 1941-1945 gg. T. 1. Perepiska s U. Cherkillem i K. Ettli (Iyul 1941 g. - Noyabr 1945 g). T. 2. Perepiska s F. Ruzveltom, i G. Trumenom (Avgust 1941 g.- Dekabr 1945)" [Correspondence Between the USSR Council of Ministers Chairman and the Presidents of the United States and the Prime Ministers of Great Britian During the 1941-1945 Great Patriotic War. Vol 1. Correspondence with W. Churchill and C. Attlee (July 1941 - Nov 1945); Vol 2. Correspondence with F. Roosevelt and H. Truman (Aug 1941 - Dec 1945)]. Second

edition. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986. Vol 1, 464 pp; vol 2, 320 pp with illustrations.

16. "Politicheskiye Partii" [Political Parties]. Reference. V.V. Zagladin and G.A. Kiselev, general editors. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 382 pp.

17. "Problema Tempov Ekonomicheskogo Rosta v Sovremennom Mire" [The Pace of Economic Growth in the Contemporary World]. Collective monograph. K.I. Mikulskiy, responsible editor. Nauka, Moscow, 1986, 387 pp.

18. "Prodovolstvennaya Programma SSSR" [The USSR Food Program]. Questions and Answers. By a group of authors. L.Ya. Florentyev, general editor. Compiled by N.G. Kopanev and F.Ya. Seleznev. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 286 pp.

19. Siqueiros, D. "Menya Nazyvali Likhim Polkovnikom" [They Called Me the Dashing Colonel]. Memoirs. Translated from the Spanish. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 414 pp with illustrations.

20. "Sodruzhestvo Stran-Chlenov SEV" [The Community of CEMA-Member Countries]. Political-economic reference. Compiled by L.F. Bibik and N.P. Varzin. O.A. Chukanov, editor. Second expanded edition. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 190 pp.

21. "Spravochnik Partiynogo Rabotnika. Vypusk 26" [Manual of the Party Worker. No 26]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 671 pp.

22. "Strany Mira" [Countries of the World]. Short political-economic reference. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 511 pp with maps.

23. "Chernyye Amerikantsy v Istorii SShA" [Black Americans in U.S. History]. In 2 volumes. By a group of authors. Editorial collegium: I.A. Geyevskiy, R.F. Ivanov (responsible editor), N.V. Mostovets. Vol 1, 1526-1917. Vol 2, 1917-1985. Mysl, Moscow, 1986. Vol 1, 256 pp; vol 2, 293 pp.

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MEETING WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF FRATERNAL JOURNALS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 86 (signed to press 9 Dec 86) p 116

[Text] A meeting of editors of theoretical and political journals of 37 communist and worker parties in socialist, capitalist and developing countries, sponsored by the journal KOMMUNIST, was held in Moscow on 3-5 December 1986. The meeting was attended by representatives of journals from Austria, Argentina, Bulgaria, Hungary, Venezuela, Vietnam, the GDR, Greece, Denmark, West Berlin, Israel, India, Spain, Canada, Cyprus, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Colombia, Cuba, Laos, Mongolia, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Norway, Poland, Romania, the USSR, the United States, Uruguay, Finland, the FRG, Czechoslovakia, Chile, Ecuador, Ethiopia, South Africa and Japan, representatives of AL-NAHJ, the organ of communist and worker parties of Arab countries, and of PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, the theoretical information journal of 70 fraternal parties.

The participants in this roundtable meeting--the first forum of Marxist theoretical publications held on this scale, discussed the new theoretical and political problems of the contemporary stage in the international struggle waged by the communists against the threat of nuclear war and for peace, democracy and socialism; they shared experience in the ideological work of their parties and earmarked ways for the further strengthening of creative contacts among the journals.

The meeting took place in an atmosphere of comradely, free and equal exchange of views, with respect for the viewpoints of all participants.

A.N. Yakovlev, CPSU Central Committee secretary, addressed the representatives of the fraternal journals. He described the experience of CPSU theoretical work at the present stage.

Materials from this meeting will be published in this journal's forthcoming issues.

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SCIENTISTS DISCUSS KOMMUNIST PUBLICATIONS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 86 (signed to press 9 Dec 86) pp 117-119

[Conference with readers at the Moscow University Institute for the Advancement of Social Science Teachers]

[Text] A readers' conference at which materials published in KOMMUNIST were discussed, was held at the Institute for Advancing the Skill of Social Science Teachers of Moscow State University imeni M.V. Lomonosov, on 31 October 1986.

Representatives of the journal described to students and the faculties of the departments of philosophy and scientific communism their work plans for the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Journal KOMMUNIST," and answered numerous questions.

V.S. Barulin, dr of philosophical sciences (head of the IPK Philosophy Department), emphasized the high quality of the journal's editorials and editorial articles. Such materials single out theoretical problems developed at the 27th CPSU Congress, indicating their broad scope, encompassing the basic aspects of contemporary development. Articles on problems of social policy and ideological work have been particularly successful. The ideas of humanism which imbue the congress' materials are well presented. This makes such articles noteworthy events in ideological work and efficient support in the work of social science teachers.

Nonetheless, the speaker expressed a number of wishes. The journal should provide a more profound general characterization of socialism, as described in the new edition of the CPSU program. It must publish more articles on contradictions under socialism and their typology, gravity, and forms of resolution; it must pay particular attention to negative social phenomena, their causality and means of surmounting them. The articles should project more sharply feelings of concern and alarm relative to the existing situation and the need to harness all forces and means for surmounting difficulties.

L.V. Nikolayeva, dr of philosophical sciences (IPK Department of Philosophy), emphasized the importance of the idea of the irreversible nature of changes which imbues the materials of the 27th CPSU Congress. The meaning of this idea, which is warmly supported by the Soviet people, is not to retreat even

by an iota from the program of the accelerated comprehensive advancement of our society.

It would be desirable for the journal to reflect philosophical problems related to the irreversible nature of the progress of socialist society with all of its real contradictions. The journal has the important function of providing a specific study of the reasons which trigger phenomena alien to socialism and to help the people who live in accordance with the just principles of socialism to uproot evil.

V.M. Dimov, dr of philosophical sciences (IPK Department of Scientific Communism), noted the positive changes which have taken place in the journal's work. The broad circle of readers, social scientists and propagandists found very useful the cycle of articles on "Greatest Accomplishment of Contemporary Marxist-Leninist Thought," supplemented by articles on the development of specific areas in socialist society.

Nevertheless, a large number of journal publications do not meet the requirements of the readers in terms of depth and content. Thus, in a number of articles the authors present interesting ideas for socioeconomic acceleration in one area of activities or another without describing the specific mechanism for their implementation. The readers would like to know not only "what is being done" but also "how it is being done and whom does it affect." The occasional gap between such "what," "how" and "whom" lowers the potential efficiency of the articles, keeping them on the level of pious wishes.

Yu.Ya. Chervyakov, dr of philosophical sciences (head of the department of philosophy, Chelyabinsk Institute of Mechanization and Electrification of Agriculture, and secretary of the party buro of IPK philosophy students), noted that the KOMMUNIST editors included quite efficiently in 1986 a number of articles on the theoretical ideas expressed at the 27th CPSU Congress, presented as the greatest achievement in contemporary Marxist-Leninist thinking. Such a reaction is worthy of approval and deserves a high rating. Nevertheless, the journal should indicate more systematically the important role played by labor collectives in social development and bring to light the dialectics of their activities.

The social development of labor collectives and the enhancement of their creative and constructive activities and increased labor productivity were studied by the creative problems group set up at the Chelyabinsk CPSU Obkom, organized 6 years ago. It is important for KOMMUNIST to cover such experience which is a combination of practical with scientific activities.

R.V. Martanus, candidate of philosophical sciences (IPK Department of Scientific Communism) said that it is not necessary for KOMMUNIST to formulate the definitive truth. It is, nevertheless, a theoretical journal of the CPSU Central Committee and the leader of our theoretical thinking in the social sciences.

The wish was expressed that articles planned by KOMMUNIST on problems of acceleration deal suitably with problems of training, upbringing and placement of management cadres.

Yu.M. Belyakov, candidate of philosophical sciences (KGB School) said that it is important for KOMMUNIST to describe in greater detail the theoretical achievements of Marxist-Leninist science, contained above all in the Central Committee political report submitted by M.S. Gorbachev, the new edition of the CPSU program and other documents in the solution of problems such as the class struggle and contradictions between governments belonging to the capitalist and socialist systems and the universal and class aspects of the struggle for peace in the international arena today.

A.M. Ushkov, candidate of philosophical sciences (IPK Department of Scientific Communism) expressed the view that the high reputation of the journal has been enhanced even further as a result of recent publications. The preceding speakers, however, had discussed essentially purely theoretical problems. Professional teachers are also interested in problems where theoretical and sociopractical problems intersect in the realm of education and in upgrading the skills of teaching cadres.

In this connection, the journal should sponsor the initiative of giving, to a certain extent, students the right to choose their own lecturers and heads of seminars. This would unfailingly develop an element of true socialist competition and critical self-assessment among the teachers and provide objective additional data for certification by administrations and public organizations.

Ye.Yu. Belskaya (department of philosophy, Moscow Aviation Institute) noted that the journal sharply raised the problem of the interrelationship between nature and society. However, in accordance with the new approaches and new forms of organization of the work suggested in the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Journal KOMMUNIST," (creation of comprehensive groups to work on most important materials) it would be desirable that they bring together leading specialists--philosophers, ecologists, economists, etc.--to consider the comprehensive problems of interaction between nature and society.

V.I. Ovcharenko, candidate of philosophical sciences (IPK Department of Philosophy), who expressed his support of the meaningful initiatives of the editors, drew attention to problems of social awareness and individual self-awareness. Priority among them is given to the set of problems on the tasks and prospects of development of the social sciences and properly formulated tasks of true restructuring of the entire system of VUZ social science, which should be the subject of constant attention on the part of a journal such as KOMMUNIST. This is particularly important, for a trend may be noted of reducing the restructuring of VUZ social sciences to solving specific individual problems.

With the help of the journal, it would be desirable to hold a representative debate on problems of the objectives, tasks, means and ways of development of our philosophy. Such a debate would contribute to the accelerated development of all sectors of philosophical knowledge, education and instruction.

Yu.P. Popov, candidate of philosophical sciences (head of the department of philosophy and scientific communism, Kirov Agricultural Institute) suggested that KOMMUNIST formulate more efficiently the "social instruction" concerning the alliance between philosophers and representatives of the social, natural and technical sciences.

K.G. Rozhko, candidate of philosophical sciences (department head, Tyumen University), noted that the CPSU documents set to social scientists topical problems, such as balancing the economy, the national economic complex and the social and all other areas of society and the intercoordination and intersubordination of these areas.

A.P. Gladilin, candidate of philosophical sciences (department of Marxism-Leninism, USSR MVD Academy) drew attention to the need for theoretical accuracy in problems of categorizing a number of policies. The journal's publications would help to eliminate the confusion which occurs in our publications, including even the most reputable and academic ones. Thus, for example, authors discussing the concepts of "political organization of society" and "the political system" consider them synonymous in their interpretations in the "Philosophical Encyclopedia" and the "Philosophical Encyclopedic Dictionary," without substantiation. Methodologically, it is of great importance to clear the confusion between these concepts.

M.V. Malyutin, candidate of philosophical sciences (Agricultural Academy imeni K.A. Timiryazev), singled out some topical legal aspects of citizens' rights and social justice. He drew attention to the intolerable situation which has developed in the practical implementation of the 1985 law which calls for criminal liability in cases of persecution for criticism. To this day court sentences for slander remain isolated cases and the flood of anonymous denunciations is left totally without control. Therefore, the journal should pay the necessary attention to this aspect of the matter.

S.S. Alengos, candidate of philosophical sciences (MEI), discussed problems of aesthetic upbringing in perfecting the socialist way of life.

T.I. Chernova (Moscow Cooperative Institute) emphasized the importance of describing the positive experience gained in the combined efforts of social scientists and practical workers in production.

The speakers at the conference expressed the wish that more regular meetings be held between KOMMUNIST personnel and readers and workers and students at the IPK of Moscow State University imeni M.V. Lomonosov.

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CHRONICLE; MEETINGS WITH THE EDITORS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 86 (signed to press 9 Dec 86) p 119

[Text] In accordance with the plan for interparty relations, the editors were visited by S. Georgiev, member of the editorial collegium of NOVO VREME, theoretical organ of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, and journal associate O. Teneva. The Bulgarian colleagues held meetings at the USSR Gosplan, and the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System, and visited the Azerbaijan SSR.

Journal associates met with participants in the All-Union Seminar-Conference of Heads of Social Science Departments at Institutes for Upgrading the Skills of Leading Workers and Specialists in National Economic Sectors in the Country. They spoke of the significance of the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Journal KOMMUNIST" in the upsurge of Soviet social science and the course of its implementation by the editors.

The participants in the seminar-conference answered questions asked in a survey of KOMMUNIST readers, expressing their views on suggestions relative to reorganizing the work of the journal and its content and sections and its presentation.

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REGULAR ENROLLMENT OF STUDENTS AND GRADUATE STUDENTS AT THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 86 (signed to press 9 Dec 86) p 128

[Text] The regular enrollment of students and graduate students at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences is hereby announced.

Enrollment will be based on recommendations of central committees of communist parties of union republics, and party kraykoms and obkoms. The personnel of central organizations and ideological institutions must be recommended by the party committees (collegiums) of these organizations and establishments, via the Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

The enrollment of students for a 2-year full time and 3-year correspondence training in the Academy will be terminated starting with 1987. A new, correspondence-full time form of training, based on a 3-year term, will be instituted. The training cycle will take 2 years if by correspondence and no more than 1 year by personal attendance, without leave. Party, soviet and ideological personnel will be allowed to enroll at the correspondence-full time department, taking into consideration the training of a cadre reserve for leading positions on the republic, kray and oblast scale and as members of the apparatus of central soviet and ideological organizations.

Released personnel of party, soviet and ideological bodies and teachers and scientific associates of party training and scientific establishments, with higher school training as a rule, not older than 30-35 and with no less than 3 years of party membership will be accepted as graduate students on the basis of a competitive selection. Graduate students must pass entrance examinations on CPSU history (philosophy), their own subject and a foreign language; they must submit an entrance paper on a topical subject and a list of publications, including articles in newspapers and journals.

The central committees of communist parties of union republics and the party kraykoms and obkoms must send the documents of personnel recommended for training to the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences.

Those recommended for correspondence and full-time training at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences will be summoned for a talk in

March and April; those recommended for graduate studies, will take their entrance examinations in May-June 1987.

Individuals recommended for training will be granted leave with pay of 30 calendar days to prepare for and take their entrance examinations for graduate studies.

Classes at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences will begin on 1 September.

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